

THE
LIFE
AND
ACTIONS

Of the late renowned

PRELATE & SOULDIER

Christopher Bernard van Gale,

BISHOP OF MUNSTER,
Prince of the Holy Empire, Administrator
of Carvey, Marquess of Stralberg, &c.

In which is an account of the most
Considerable Actions of Europe in his time.

L O N D O N :

Printed for Benj. Tooke, Rob. Harford,
and Sam. Carr. 1680.

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MEN that perform great things have generally their particular Historians, who in their Writings Record their Actions; But these are many times no more than the Flatterers of their choicest and most memorable Deeds, not making any mention of their Vices and Miscarriages; a thing which this short Story of the Late Bishop of Munster cannot be said to be guilty of, at least to the utmost of the Authors knowledg. From his very Birth, to the fiftieth year of his Age there is no notice taken, no men-

TO the READER.

mention made of him, neither in History nor in any publick Acts or Records; so that in all that time it is impossible there should be any thing considerable concerning him delivered to posterity, only that he lay under the misfortune of

Res angusta domi-----

How he employ'd his time from the forty seventh year of his Age, or thereabouts, the Reader has here a short but impartial account; from which they that are pleased with variety of Transaction, and love to observe the Intreagues of Ambition, and all the windings and doublings of Human Policy, cannot choose but receive as much satisfaction as so short a Compendium can afford; and yet not so short neither, if we consider in what a narrow compass the
several

TO the READER.

Several Lives of Plutarch lie, in few of which there is more diversity of Transaction to be found. It being a thing greatly to be admired, that a Prince of so little Power and Authority, by reason of the small extent of his Territories, should nevertheless so order his affairs, as that the chiefest Potentates of Europe still sought his friendship, at no small expences of their own. While, by a wary and seasonable change of parties, he still preserved himself entire. But I shall not anticipate the Reader with a Preface Relation, when the Story it self is so near at hand.

THE

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THE

more ample relation in the following Pages, is
 this, that he was then passing up the

the same way, but

should make it to his business to write
 the report of his

many Kings and Princes, and himself in
 his own words, which

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L I F E A N D A C T I O N S O F

Christopher Bernard van Galle,

Bishop of MUNSTER, &c.



When Christopher Bernard de Galle was
 bred up by his Uncle Bernard
 Malingbrook out of meer Com-
 passion and Charity, I being the
 poor Orphan of an unfortunate
 Gentleman, whose Estate the Law took from
 him, and who dy'd in Prison for having slain
 another Gentleman, of which two shall make a

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more

more ample relation in the following Pages, he little thought that he was then hatching up not only so large a Theam for History, but one that should make it so much his business to trouble the repose of so many Countries, and bring so many Kings and Princes to interest themselves in his Affairs, while he either ruined or helped to ruin so many vast Territories.

Histories already written are plentifully stored with examples of persons, who from the meanest condition of mankind, have been advanced to the highest dignities of Empire and Sovereignty. Of these, some have reigned and ruled with great honor and applause; but others, and they the greater number, have ruin'd their Subjects, and been plagues to their Neighbors. I confess, to name them all or to make a Catalogue of their Actions would be too tedious; and therefore I leave it to the judgment of them who have any knowledg of the Actions of our Bishop, whether he ought to be rank'd in the lesser number of the first, or the greater number of the latter.

Before the time that he was advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Minster*, and till the Year, 1650. there is no mention made of his name in any Book that I know of. But since that, he has given occasion enough to men both to write and talk of him; though much more to his disadvantage than otherwise, and therefore his memory will never be accompted the most Renowned

The late Bishop of Munster. 13

nowned in Story. Since then we find nothing remarkable in the first part of his Life but what has been already observ'd in the Preface, we shall presently go on to his Election to the Episcopal Dignity, which was as full of troubles and interruptions as his Government afterwards. Nevertheless before we come to that, it will not be amiss to say something of his natural disposition; by which (not bridling but rather fomenting his Passions) he executed those things which were done by him when he had power and opportunity to do what he intended.

The *Sieur Valkenier* in his *Europe Troubl'd*, p. 138. describes his humour to be ambitious, martial, restless, inclin'd to change, and altogether covetous to heap up Riches for his Heirs. Certainly his Ambition and Passion for the Wars which he occasion'd were immoderate, and this was the main motive that incited him to undertake so many Actions. It was more for ruining his Neighbours Country then for preserving his own or his own subjects. More addicted to seek occasions for War, then to sue for Peace. He loved the Art of War better than the Art of Preaching. He wore at the same time the Helmet and the Mitre, the Sword and the Crozier, but preferr'd the former always before the latter.

And indeed he was a good Souldier upon several occasions. He was subtle and full of stratagems, and very artfully dissembl'd his Designs

till ripe for Execution; and continu'd open Friendship till he was ready to strike these whom he design'd to fall out withal. When he intended Eastward, he seem'd to bend to the West. Our State, among others, has had often experience of this particular. His Conduct, besides that he was never deceiv'd by his Generals in the number of his men, appear'd at the Siege of Groning, where his Order and Discipline were without blame.

Toward the end of *July* he took a review of his whole Army. In the Morning he call'd his men to their Arms by beat of Drum and sound of Trumpet. After that he caus'd Proclamation that every Commander should forthwith repair to their several Charges, and Order the Souldiers under their Commanders into their several Ranks and Files, as well the Horse as the Foot; Then he appointed certain Commissioners to count the Ranks and Files, and tell how many was in every Company. The Roll being compleated, was deliver'd to the Bishop, who paid out his mony according to the Complement of men given into his hands. By which means he knew exactly how many men he had in his Service. Every Month he made the same review, whereby he did not only gain time, but prevented the deceits of Officers upon the like occasions.

Besides all this, he had the Courage of a Souldier; and he shew'd his undauntedness at the
same

same Siege. He went frequently into the Trenches, to take care of things, and to correct such miscarriages as he observ'd, never trusting to any one person but himself. And still as he pass'd along, it behov'd the Souldiers either to be delving or shooting; So that they lov'd his room much better then his company. Sometimes he stay'd two or three hours in the Trenches, hazarding his person in the most dangerous places. Nevertheless he was prudent for all that; for he never expos'd himself to those dangers, but he was attended by nine or ten persons, habited like Footmen in the same Livery as himself, which prevented his being discover'd by the Enemy.

Thus our Bishop shew'd himself to be a brave and vigilant Captain: but such a one as undertook unnecessary Wars, and such as the occasions thereof were sought by himself. Should it be objected that the Sword of a Prince, and the Bishops Crozier have no correspondence together, it may be answered that he was not only a Spiritual but Temporal Prince. Should any one go farther and ask the same question as was asked the Bishop of *Cologne* upon the same occasion, *If the Devil take the Secular, what must become of the Spiritual Prince?* We can give no answer till we hear what the Bishop said for himself.

His restless humour has been sufficiently apparent. He never could be at quiet; but there

was a necessity for him to be in Arms, or in some contest before the Chamber of *Spiers*, sometimes against his own City and Subjects, sometimes against the *Statés General*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, &c. No person that had any intricate and perplex'd cause needed have done any more than gone to him; for he never denyed them his Assistance, especially if he perceived any advantage accruing to himself.

All the world knows how inconstant he was in his words and his actions. The Alliances which he confirm'd by solemn Oath and his Episcopal Cross, endured no longer than stood with his Interest and Convenience. He never continued long in Friendship with any Prince, whom he did not either leave in the lurch, or else become his Enemy. *England*, *France*, the *Low Countries*, and several others can well testify the same.

His Avarice was a great, if not the principal cause of his Inconstancy. For when he had got the sum agreed upon, he offered his assistance to another, to make a new profit to himself, though it were to the disadvantage of him that was the first purchaser.

He was so much a slave to his Covetousness, that it was usually said of him that he would serve the Devil for money; he would willingly have had all the money that was in the world, for gain was the chiefest part of his Religion. Neither did he spare any deceit, or act of violence

violence which was profitable to him: For which reason he was a continual stumbling-block to his Neighbours, and a thorn in their Eyes; so that the Emperour never darst put any confidence in him, finding him to be of the disposition of *Ishmael* whose hand was against all the world.

The *Sieur Volekemier* has very well observ'd that profit had the only Ascendent over him, as being the only thing whereat he aim'd. The words of that famous Writer are these: For, saith he, *Whatever filled and crammed his Chests and Coffers was his Interest as he has openly confessed himself, and has given the world reason to believe by his actions.* And indeed, as he is an Ecclesiastical Prince, that cannot leave his Bishoprick to his Kindred, and will therefore be nothing endamaged by the ruin of it, for that reason he only endeavour'd to heap together vast Treasures for his Heirs, who could expect from him nothing but ready money. So that if the States of the United Provinces had offered him more money than the French, he would have soon laid aside his old Antipathy, and have become their choicest Friend. Though he knew well, that if by the uncertain chance of War he should happen to be expell'd his Bishoprick, a rich Abbey in France (well deserved by his Faithful services) might prove more profitable to Europe him than all his Bishoprick, whose wretched p. Inhabitants were so impoverished. 183.

Beside what we have already said, he was altogether void of pity. He is accused to have

pocketed up the money which has been sent by other Princes or Kings to make a divertive War for their convenience, and then to have laid insupportable burthens upon his own Subjects. That he quartered Souldiers continually in great numbers upon his Subjects, who made no sin of violating married women, ravishing Virgins and committing dayly Robberies, the relations whereof never moved his heart. When a considerable person and very aged, belonging to the Chapter of the Cathedral Church, laid before him one day the miserable sufferings of his Subjects, as well by their Taxes, as the Insolence of the Souldiers, he made answer. *That it was not for him to suffer himself to be insulted over by his Neighbours, but to defend his Honour. Which could not be done without a War, and to make War there was a necessity for money and Souldiers. The first he could legally demand from his Subjects, as being set over them for their safety and honour. For the other, it was impossible to Discipline them so exactly. If his Subjects did suffer any hardship, he was sorry for it. But as these inconveniences were the companions of War, he hop'd ere long for better times. That if they considered what others suffered, they had reason to count themselves happy, and to thank God that they had a generous Prince that would take no affront, but was mindful their Honor. He suffer'd his Souldiers to commit those insolencies in his Enemies Countries that the people dreaded the very name of Munsterians.*

Arrians. The French were rigorous enough in those Places and Cities of the Low Countries where they had their Garrisons, but not to be compar'd with the Bishops men for cruelty.

It is credibly reported that at the Siege of Groning, some of his Chief Officers expressed their sorrow for the loss of so many brave and valiant persons; and desired him to have pity upon the miserable cries of the wounded, beseeching him at the same time that care might be taken of them, to which he returned for answer, *How? Are you one of my Officers and suffer your heart to melt upon the sight of a few dead men, or the sighs and groans of the wounded? A good Souldier ought to have as little Compassion as the Devil.* However he would sometimes disguise his Natural Cruelty, and appear tender and pitiful, for fear of distasting his Souldiers, and being also afraid lest his Subjects should have an utter aversion against him.

There are some perhaps who having read thus far may accuse me of prejudice and partiality. But they must know that as yet, we have not begun the History, we have only made a preliminary description of the humour and disposition of the Bishop, in respect of whom we thought ourselves not so much confined to the Duty of a Historian as to the bounds of Truth, wherein we have follow'd the best relations

tations of the time, as well in *Higb German*, as *Dutch*.

o) *Ferdinand Duke of Bavaria Arch-Bishop of Cologne, Bishop of Hildesheim, Paderborn, Liege and Munster*, dyed in the Year 1650. The Archiepiscopal See fell to *Maximilian Henry Duke of Bavaria*, after he had been eight years *Coadjutor* to his Uncle. A while after he was also Bishop of *Liege* and *Hildesheim*. The Bishoprick of *Munster* fell into the hands of *Signor Christopher Bernard de Galle*, though by vertue of an Election altogether confused and extraordinary, caused by the dissension between the Dean and the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of *Munster*, of which more in due place.

Historians differ as to the employment which *Monsieur Christopher Bernard* enjoyed before he was Elected. Some will have him to have been Warden of the Chapter. *Gosfred Schultx* in his Chronicle of the Year 1650. p. 23. writes thus: 'At *Munster* the Chapter of the Cathedral put by several considerable persons that stood for the Ecclesiastical Dignity, and at last chose for their Bishop, *Monsieur Christopher Bernard* their Warden. In the beginning of the little Preface there are these words, A Warden was advanced to be Bishop. But in the eighth part of the *Theatre of Europe*, Fol. 91. we find that his Uncle *Malingrot*, Dean of the Cathedral had advanc'd him in the Chapter. Both the one and the other may be true, that is to say, that

that first he might have been only *Sacristain*, and after that prefer'd higher, and so by his Uncles means attain the Bishoprick.

Monfieur *Christopher Bernard*, was scarcely advanc'd to the Chair, but word was brought him every day, that the Citizens of *Munster* not being satisfied with his Election, talk'd of him with a great deal of scorn and contempt: that they continually divulg'd bitter Lampoons and reproaches against him, and that they gave little respect to his high Dignity. Part of this indeed was true: but his Flatterers had added much more then was really so: and this it was that exasperated the Bishop against them: however he conceal'd his hatred for a time. Many of the Magistrates were willing to have punished the Authors of those Satyrs: but others privately favour'd them, so that they could not agree upon that point among themselves.

It is reported that this discontent among the Citizens on the one side was this, that after the Chapter had in such an irregular manner pass'd by so many persons of worth, they should advance to so high a Dignity not only the son of a private Gentleman, which was tolerable enough, but the son of a Criminal, which was insufferable. On the other side because they well enough understood by several actions of *Christopher Bernard* in his mean Estate, what they were to expect from him, when he came to be a Prince.

Monſieur Bernard Malingrot his Uncle a very learned man, as moſt Writers affirm, but very ſelf-willed withal, became his mortal enemy after his Election, and proſecuted him publickly every where not only in his common ſpeeches but his writings, reproaching him that his Election was neither regular nor juſt; that it was faulty both in the manner and the perſon, and that *Chriſtopher Bernard* ought not to be acknowledged for lawful Biſhop. All which more incenſed the people againſt him, as being a perſon that had never been in any credit amongſt them, whereas *Malingrot* had lived in long Reputation within the City.

And now it will be time for us to declare the reaſon why the Uncle ſo hated his Pupil, as alſo to relate the manner of the Biſhops Election, and what happened before and after.

It is a thing well known by the Popes Bulls or Right Eccleſiaſtical, that when the Epifcopal See happens to be vacant, it is the Deans duty to aſſemble a Chapter within fix months, for the choice of another Biſhop, otherwiſe after the expiration of that time the Pope has Authority to ſupply the vacancy by putting in any one of his own choice.

Malingrot would willingly have been Biſhop himſelf, and indeed deſerved to have been advanced to that Dignity, as well for his wit and learning as for his extraction: which may ſeem improbable, conſidering the meanness of the Biſhops

shops birth; but is allowed however for truth, in regard that *Malingcrot*, was related to the Bishop by the Mothers side and not by the Fathers.

Malingcrot therefore aspiring to the Mitre, delayed the Election much longer then was pleasing to the *Canons*; so that the fifth month was already at an end, and no day yet prefix'd; whereby he thought more easily to have attain'd his ends. But many of the members of the Chapter, especially the younger sort, had little or no kindness for him. For he was a severe man, and one that while he was Dean had not only sharply rebuk'd them in words but also inflicted rude Penances upon them. So that they fear'd he would be more rigorous when he came to be Bishop.

Thus while he delayed to call the Chapter, notwithstanding the importunities of several, the Members of the Colledg met *Christopher Bernard de Galle*, the Deans Nephew at a Feast near their Colledg. They were there very frolick, and at length in the height of their jollity they began to cry aloud, *Long live Bishop Bernard*. Which acclamations when they came *Malingcrot*s ears he took them for a good Omen, in regard his name was also *Bernard*, believing himself to be the person intended. But soon after he was inform'd that the Chapter had proceeded very far toward the Election, and that they had nominated his Nephew *Monsieur de Galle*, to be
Bishop

Bishop of *Munster*, which Election they besought him to consent to, and confirm with his signet.

The Dean was very ill satisfied with what had been done; he upbraided the Canons with their ill and disrespectful language towards him, according to his usual custom; and for that contrary to their duty towards him; without his knowledg and consent, they had assembled together in an improper place to make a Bishop. That it belonged to him, as Dean, according to the Ecclesiastical customs and priviledges, to call a Chapter, and take their voices in order. Which not being done, but having acted contrary to Rules with a premeditated design, the Election was illegal and void: and for that reason, he would never approve of it.

Nevertheless the Chapter would not alter the resolution which they had taken, and made their Applications to the Pope to confirm the Bishop newly Elected. *Malingerot* vigorously oppos'd it; alledging among other reasons, that their Election was altogether illegal, being done contrary to Law and Form, without his knowledg, as Dean; without any necessity or apprehension of danger, when there was time enough to have proceeded legally; besides that they had chosen a person not fitting or proper to be admitted to so high a calling, which ought to be undertaken by persons of irreprehensible conversations. Now it was known to all the world that the Father

ther of him who was Elected to the Bishoprick had killed another Gentleman; for which reason he had been deprived of his Estate, and dy'd in Prison.

The Chapter alledg'd on the other side, that necessity had compell'd them to pass to this Election. The needless delay of the Dean put them in danger of losing their great priviledg of a free choice; there being so much time elapsed. As for the Criminal act of the Father of the Elected Bishop, they excused it in this manner; saying, that it could not be accompted a Capital Crime, since it was not punish'd with loss of life; and therefore that could be no impediment to keep his son from the benefit of their Election.

Malingerot reply'd, that then when they made their choice there was time enough to have proceeded according to due form. That it was in his brest to point the time, so that he left time enough for the Election. That he would not lose his priviledg of limitation of time; that a particular favour to let a crime go unpunished did not justify the action. At length by his writings he so far prevail'd with *Innocent the X.* as to forbear the Confirmation of *Christopher Bernard* till the fifth year, that is to say, for so long time as the Pope should live. But when *Alexander the VII.* came to the Chair in the Year 1655. he forthwith confirm'd him in his Dignity, and so *Christopher Bernard* prevail'd at length.

So

So long as *Malingetot* liv'd at *Munster* he never ceased giving out invective speeches against the Bishop, and many as well of the Council as of the people gave credit to him. For in regard that he had bred him, every one believed that he could not chuse but know his Genius and Disposition better then another: And certainly the preceding life of the Bishop had not been so void of blame, but that he had given occasion enough to let the world see several of his vices. This was that which engag'd the Bishop, who resided at *Coesweld*, to Excommunicate the Dean, his Uncle; who after that retired to *Cologne*, where he met with *Sanfelicio*, the Popes Nuntio at that time; to whom he made out his business so well, that he was not only freed from his Excommunication; but also had liberty granted him to return to *Munster*.

This very thing did not a little contribute to the ensuing troubles; particularly then when upon the Feast of *St. James* the Apostle he shew'd himself in all his Ecclesiastical Robes. Old and young, men and women, in short, all sorts of people crouded to see him, overjoy'd at his return. Insomuch that there was a universal cry among the multitude, *Let Malingetot stay with us, and let Galle go where he pleases*. And this was that which made the business worse, and excited a stronger inveteracy in the spirit of the Bishop, not only against the Dean his Uncle, but against all the Citizens of *Munster*. He imagin-

ed,

ned, and perhaps not without reason, that he should from time to time become more odious to them; and therefore he could not hope for much good from them. For this reason he required the Townsmen, that for the security of his person, they would receive an Episcopal Garrison; and because they gave him a denial, he sought how to attain his ends by force.

Before we go any farther, we will give the Reader a description of this Town which is seated in *Westphalia*. This Diocess contains twelve Cities, whose Magistrates are all of the *Roman Catholic Religion*; of all which *Munster* is the Metropolis. The Inhabitants are particularly addicted to *Tillage*: they also breed and feed great store of Cattel and Sheep, but especially Hogs, of which they make great advantage, by reason of the vast quantities of *Westphalia Hams* which they send abroad into Forrain Parts. The Nobility govern the Country, and live in their Castles; but the Country and their Herds and Flocks afford them their maintenance. Only for their Agriculture, they have the priviledg to be served by the Country people that are under their jurisdiction, being as it were their slaves, and whose duty it is at the first word to be at their service. The place where now the City of *Munster* stands, was formerly called, *Mimgarde* in the *Dubigines* or *Dulgumnies*. It received the name of *Munster* from the Latin word *Monasterium*, signifying a Cloyster

or Convent, which Bishop *Armand* the first, in the Reign of *Charlemain*, in the Year 785. when this Province was first made a Bishoprick, caused to be built there in honor of the Holy *Virgin Mary*. The Land round about it no way to be despised, no more than is all the rest of *Westphalia*. The City has nine Gates well provided and guarded with Bulwarks and Bastions. There are three to the East, that of *St. Maurice*, *St. Servaise*, and *Horst* Gate. Two toward the South, *St. Ludgers* and *St. Giles's*. Two to the West, *St. Maries* Gate, and that of the *Jews field*. Two to the North, that of the *Cross*, and *Newburgh* Gate. The City is encompassed with a double Wall and a double Moat; which the River *Aa* fills with water, and then discharges it self. It contains also five Colledges, that of *St. Pauls* the Cathedral, *St. Ludgers*, *St. Maurices*, *St. Martins* and one more.

The Bishop therefore not being able to incline the Citizens to answer his expectations, adjourned the Chapter of the Cathedral, and the greatest part of the Nobility to *Coseweld*. There the business was variously consulted, but they could not come to any agreement, so that the Assembly brake up.

In the mean time *Malingcroet*, from whom the Bishop had taken away the Office of Dean, and who lived as an exile at *Cologn*, resolved one day to revisit the Town of *Munster*, and to celebrate the Feast of *St. James*. But before he could

could get into the Town, he was discovered by the Bishops men, taken Prisoner and carried before the Bishop, who seriously exhorted him to quit his Rebellious humor and not to envy him the honor wherewith God had favoured him. But these calm words took no effect. On the contrary he began to upbraid his Nephew, with what he had done for him after his Fathers misfortune, and how he had preserved him from the jaws of misery; that he had made him a Canon, and then a member of the Chapter. But that after all his kindness, he had rewarded him with nothing but ingratitude.

Thereupon the Bishop made sure of him; ordering the Jesuites and other Ecclesiastical Persons that were at his Devotion to persuade him, but all to no purpose. So that at length he dispossessed him of all his Dignities, and put him under a Guard of Souldiers in a certain house in the Country; and in that condition he ended his days. He shewed himself however very Liberal to all the poor Students that came to visit him, of which his bounty drew a good number. But he received them all civilly, and never dismissed them but with a handsom gift, telling them withal this Lesson: When it shall be your turn to come to preferment, said he, remember me in your writings, and consider what it was reduced me to this condition.

Now in regard the Bishop continued his Levies, the City of *Munster* could not but easily

conjecture, that he was making those Warlike preparations against them. Nor did he want the assistance of others; For though *Francis William* Bishop of *Osnaburgh*, and *Adolph de Veck*, Bishop of *Paderborn*, loved their Tranquillity too well, to interest themselves in his troubles; yet the three Ecclesiastical Electors of *Mayence*, *Treves* and *Cologne*, sent him some of their Troops. Before he came to any Acts of Hostility, he dispatched to the City Monsieur *de Morien*, hereditary Marshal, to make an agreement with the Inhabitants. The Council put in writing the causes why they could not entirely confide in their Prince, and what it was that burden'd the City. And indeed the Peace would soon have been concluded, would his Highness but have remitted or at least abated the burthen of their Taxes. Nevertheless a Truce was agreed upon, thereby to prevent farther extremities.

With these hopes the Pacificators parted, and M. the Mareschal took with him the Articles propos'd by the City together with their first Declaration. At that time *Nicolas Dragter* Syndic of the City, coming from the *Hague*, was taken Prisoner by the Bishops men; which yet more exasperated the Townsmen. Soon after open acts of Hostility began. The City put it self in a posture of defence. The Citizens stood to their Arms and took their Oaths at the Council rather to lose their lives than the Liberties and Priviledges of their Ancestors.

The Bishops Army was reported to be Nine Thousand strong, in Horse and Foot. He assail'd the City very vigorously, shooting continually, and threw Fire-Balls into it, which set fire on several houses. The Ecclesiastical persons ran to the Churches, to beseech Almighty God to infuse thoughts of Peace into the hearts of the Bishop and the Citizens. The old people and children, who were not fit for labour, went every day in public Processions from one Church to another, accompany'd by the Dominicans. The lusty women were divided through the City, and had their particular employments allotted them, some to fill Tubs of water, others carry'd Raw Hides to clap upon the Granado's and Fire-Balls that were thrown into the City. There was no place free from the Cannon-bullets which flew thick about their Ears. Inso-much that as one of the Priests was saying Mass in the Church of St. *John*, while he was Elevating the Host, a Bullet took him away from the Altar. Nevertheless the Citizens made a Sally and kill'd a good number of the *Episcoparians*.

In the midst of all this roaring of the Cannon, the Nobility sought all means imaginable to bring things to a reconciliation. To which purpose they assembl'd together at *Gueest*. Thither the Nobility flock'd in great numbers, being ill satisfi'd with the Bishops proceedings; and some there were that did not forbear to say openly, That a Siege so pernicious and violent

was not the Act of a Prince, but of a Tyrant. They also sent to his Highness their Letters of complaint in reference to the said Siege, The Contents whereof were, That the agreement, which he was about to have made before, had been prosperously concluded, had he not so soon begun open Hostilities. That without the knowledge and consent of the Nobility and the Cities in general, he had brought Foreign Forces into the Country, and rais'd men upon his own particular Authority. That he had assaulted the City of *Münster* like an Enemy contrary to the privileges of the Country, which he had confirm'd himself in these words, *We will not make any War or Alliance with any person, without the consent of the Chapter of the Cathedral Church and other Estates of our Country.* And expressly against what was concluded at the assembly at *Coesweld*, that all new Levies should be put off, &c.

Then they complain'd that he had put the Country, that had not yet recovered the miseries of the preceding Wars, into a new confusion, that he had shed the blood of the Innocent, made many Widows and Orphans whose tears and moans cry'd loud to Heaven. And therefore they besought him to raise his Siege, and send away his Foreigners; and for his own right, to stand to the determination of the Imperial Court. That he would no more oppress either them, the City or the Country, but that he would

would assume the Peaceful thoughts of a Father, a Prince, a Bishop and a Pastor of the Church. Otherwise if he would not lend an Ear to their just complaints, they protested their innocence of all the misfortunes that should fall upon his Highness and the Country. This Letter was dated the first of September, 1657.

The Bishop answered fully, that he had never other thoughts than to preserve his subjects in repose with the care and fidelity of a Father. That he always was for Peace and Union, but the City of *Munster* by its obstinacy had deserved not only this, but a far more rigorous punishment. That he had proceeded no otherwise than a Prince and Sovereign Lord ought to proceed against Rebels. If the City or Country should suffer any damage thereby, time would repair it. That the City had rejected the Justice of the Imperial Chamber, in regard they had desired succours from the Hans Towns and the States of the *United Provinces*. In conclusion he desired the Nobility to assist him as their Prince, to reduce a Rebellious City to Obedience.

In the mean time the Bishop endeavour'd by all manner of means to do what mischief he could to the City. Night and day he play'd with his great Guns, and sent in his Bombs and Fire-Balls which did great Execution. Which so heighten'd the indignation of the Townsmen against the Bishop, that because

they would not forget the year wherein their houses had been so ill handl'd by Fire, they caus'd new Colours to be made with these words *GaLen InCenDIe UrbeM*, The numeral Letters whereof are M. DC. LVII. With these Colours they march'd about their Streets, and these Ensigns they flourish'd upon their Bulwarks. As for their Bishop they gave him no other Title than that of *Murderer*, and *Destroyer* of their City. The women themselves, at other times mild and tender hearted, animated their Husbands against him, as an Oppressor and a Tyrant.

In the mean time the Pope sent a Letter to the Bishop which did not very well please him. For that therein he adviz'd him to forbear all farther acts of Hostility against the City, or otherwise he threaten'd to Excommunicate him. The Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony* wrote to him also to the same effect, but in vain, for he still pursu'd his design.

The sixteenth of *September* the Bombs caus'd a terrible Fire at *Munster*, which lasted from Midnight till Morning. Of all the former Fires this was the most lamentable. After which the Bishop made a proposition to the City, to receive a Garrison of a thousand men, and to Cashier their Commander *Wittenburg*; upon which conditions they might have Peace. But they by no means would give their consent.

The three Electors *Treves, Mayence* and *Cologne*, exhorted the City to submission; but all to no purpose. The Citizens exasperated would not be reappeas'd. The Commonalty encourag'd one the other, and lifting up their hands, cry'd aloud. *Be of good Courage Munster, be of good Courage, the Hollanders are coming to thy assistance.* For the States General had sent them some succor. Nevertheless they were much endammag'd by the Bombs and *Granado's*. Two Churches, and above two hundred Houses were already reduced to Ashes. Afterward the Bishop made a general Assault, but was repuls'd with loss. The seventeenth of *October* a Truce was made for four days. Which so enrag'd the Citizens, that they openly revil'd the Council, and were within a little of laying violent hands upon them.

All this while the Deputies of the Chapter of the Cathedral, of the Nobility and the Town did all that lay in their power; so that at length an agreement was made the twenty first of the said Month. That no person should be call'd to accompt for the troubles past, neither in *Munster*, nor without the City, nor suffer either in Body or Estate. That the Prisoners on both sides should be releas'd. That the Council of the City should retain in their service three hundred Foot, and admit of five hundred *Episcoparians*, as also the ordinary Guards of the Bishops Body, both Horse and Foot. That their Commander

mander should take an Oath, not to act any thing contrary to the Priviledges of the City. That when the Bishop was in the City, he should give the Watch-word, and in his absence, that the Citizens Council should appoint it. That, in regard the Dispute about the Keys was before the Imperial Chamber, the issue of their sentence should be expected. In the mean time, that the Citizens and Council should open the Gates of the City to the Bishop at all times, when by him requir'd, or thought convenient, and that they should give him all the honor and respect due to his Person and Quality. On the other side the Bishop promises to preserve the Priviledges of the City; and the Burgomasters and Council promise to keep their Oaths inviolably.

The Bishop would not have consented to Conditions so favourable, had not the forces of the States General been upon their march for the relief of the City. They consisted of forty five Troops of Horse, and ninety seven Companies of Foot. This Army made an alteration in the Bishops thoughts, who in the beginning of *December*, made his Entry into the City. He was receiv'd as became him, by the Council. The Townsmen were in Arms all along the streets as he pass'd. But not a person would uncover to him, as he rode in his Coach, nor give him those Volleys of honour which are customary: their outward behaviour being correspondent to the inward thoughts of their hearts.

hearts. And this was the end of the Siege. Of the besieged about fourscore were slain; but the Bishop lost above two thousand. This was also the second agreement between the Bishop and the City concluded in 1657. The former being made in the Year 1655.

Though the Peace were concluded, the Bishop still retain'd in his service several Troops and Regiments; and he enter'd into Alliances with other Princes, without the knowledg and consent of the Estates, and by consequence, contrary to their confirm'd Priviledges. Which caus'd both suspition and hatred; so that there was no good intelligence between the City and the Bishop. The Burgomasters mistrusted the Bishop, and the Bishop had no affection for them. This was the occasion of new differences which increas'd from day to day; from whence might easily be discover'd the flames of a new approaching War. Whereupon the City sent their Deputies to the States of the *United Provinces*, who return'd with a favourable answer.

About this time a report was divulg'd over all *Westphalia*, that the *Munsterians* were resolv'd to admit the public exercise of the Reformed Religion into their City to oblige the States General. But the Council publish'd an Edict, wherein they declared this report to be a meer Invention. And thus things pass'd on, till the Year 1660. at what time the flames

flames of a new War burst forth again.

By the Treaty in the Year 1657. It was concluded that the old and new differences between the two parties, lying before the Imperial Chamber at *Spier*, should remain as they were. At length the Chamber came to a Final determination, to this purpose, that since the City could not sufficiently prove their rights pretended in reference to the Garrison, that the Keys, Walls, Gates, Bulwarks and Watch-word should be at the disposal of the Bishop as their Prince. The Burgomasters and Counsellors were much dissatisfi'd at the sentence, and crav'd a rehearing. On the other side the Bishop complain'd, that they refus'd to submit to the sentence of the Chamber; and demanded *Mandate of Execution*, which was granted him, if the City at the end of two months did not fairly comply. In regard then that they did not submit, but sought for Foreign assistance, upon the tenth of *Jan.* 1660. the Council receiv'd an Order Imperial that they should recal their Deputies out of the *Low-Countries*, and cancel whatever had been treated upon, under penalty of Excommunication. Neither had they above two months time to shew their submission to the Chamber, and their promise of amendment and obedience for the future. And this affair the Bishop manag'd so well that all things went according to his wish.

The City trusted in the succours that were promis'd them by the States General, who had assur'd them of assistance, in pursuance of the League made with the Hanse Towns, wherein *Munster* was compriz'd. So that at the same time the States sent a Letter to the Bishop, desiring him that he would either pursue his action at Law, or make a fair agreement, lest they should be forc'd to concern themselves in the business.

Nevertheless, a little while after the *Munsterians* sent Orders to their Deputies at the *Hague* to return home and desist from Treating any farther. This was after the Imperial Command.

The Bishop made great complaints against the City at the Emperors Court, sharply accusing them of disobedience to the Emperors Orders: withal requesting that the Emperors Orders might be put in Execution. The Council wrote to the Emperor that they had obey'd, and had Commanded their Deputies home from the *Hague*, upon which their being Excommunicated was put off. Thereupon the Bishop, not being able any longer to curb his unquiet humor, began to block up the City with his Forces. The Emperor sent to let him know, that he expected, he should desist from all Acts of Hostility, and permit the City a free Trade. But he slighted the Emperors injunctions, and prosecuted his own affairs. Whereupon the City, for the maintainance of their Liberty,
put

put themselves in a Posture of Defence

The States General endeavour'd to compose the differences, and to that purpose sent their Deputies to *Munster*, but without any success. In the mean time the Bishops Souldiers exercis'd all Acts of Hostility, spoyling and burning the Corn upon the Ground, that the Townsmen might have no benefit of their Harvest. On the other side Monsieur *Aitzma* earnestly recommended to the States General the care of the Town, to which the chiefest part of the Provinces were readily inclin'd, but the Province of *Holland* would by no means consent. At the beginning of *November* the Council of the City sent a Letter in Ciphers to Monsieur *Aitzma*, earnestly pressing him to put the States General in mind of their promises; but notwithstanding all the endeavours of Monsieur *Aitzma*, though *Friesland* thought it necessary; though *Guelderland*, *Overyssel*, and *Groningen* were of the same opinion, yet *Holland* oppos'd them all. *Brandenburg* also dissuaded the relief of the City. So that *Munster* was now left to itself, not a little complaining against the *United Provinces*.

The twenty first of *Jan.* *Bernard Zimmercheyd*, the Burgomaster with six others of the Council, ventured out of Town to the Quarters of the Bishop, where they were heard by two of the Bishops Counsellors. They implor'd his Highnesses favour toward the miserable Inhabitants of the City, and besought him for the

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love of God that they might be admitted into his presence to understand his resolutions. Thereupon the question was put to them, whether they did not acknowledg in the presence of God that they were Rebels. The Burgomaster, shrugging his shoulders, excused the Magistracy so far, that it was not in their power to curb the violent humour of the Populacy. To which he was answer'd in this language. Obey then the Emperors Commands, disband your Souldiers, bring the Keys of the City to your Lawful Prince, and receive his Garrisons, otherwise your Prince will teach you with a far more numerous force to reverence and obey your Sovereign.

Thereupon in regard there was no Corn left in the City, nor no mony to pay the Souldiers who were already two months in arrears, there was a necessity of submitting to whatever the Bishop required; which brought them to an absolute surrender the 18. of *March* upon these conditions. That the Gates should be guarded by the Episcopal Troops; that the Citizens should refuse the assistance of the States General and of all others. That they should pay the Bishop at present 40000. Crowns, and afterwards an Annual tribute of 7. or 8000. Crowns, upon which consideration they should have their pardons. That six persons should be excluded from this pardon, who were nevertheless to be free from Corporal punishment or life. That they

they should receive an Episcopal Garrison without limitation. That they should surrender the Keys to the Bishop; and that whatever concern'd the security of the City should be absolutely at the Bishops disposal.

Soon after, in a great deal of haste he began the foundation of a Citadel, call'd *Munsters Crabbone*. He regulated all the Colledges and Fellowships of the City, and set up a new form of Government, which began to require an account from some part of those who had formerly born Offices. Four Receivers were put in Prison upon pretence of having falsified their Trust. One of the Counsellors, excluded from pardon, was constrained to pay the Bishop 2000. Crowns, and an Antient Burgomaster as much; after which they were both banished the Country.

Thus Prince *Christopher Bernard* reduc'd the City of *Munster* under his subjection. And now he might have liv'd in quiet, had not his boistrous and restless humour stirr'd him up to new undertakings; and therefore to find himself employment, he rous'd up quarrels that had lain long a sleep. He set on foot an old dispute, and publish'd a writing concerning the contest about *Borculo*; in reference to which affair, it was by him alledg'd, that the Imperial Council of *Spiers* had given sentence in favour of the Bishop, declaring that that *Signory* was a Fee belonging to *Munster*, and by consequence escheated to him.

him. In opposition to this the Count of *Stirum* had the Decree of the Court of *Guelthers*, as being in possession, who thereupon, a while after, caus'd an answer to the Bishops claim to be publish'd in writing. This was done in the year 1662. The year following the Bishop sent Monsieur *Braybeck*, Dean of the Cathedral of *Munster*, as his Embassadour, to the *Hague*, where he attended the States General with a Memorial, desiring them in the name of his Prince, that they would favour his just demands, and restore to him the Signory of *Porculo* and its dependencies, which the Arms of the States had put into the possession of Count *Justus* of *Limburg*, in regard it was done by the Province of *Guelthers* in the Year 1616. Monsieur *De Estrades* also, the French Embassadour, was very serviceable to the Bishop, and smartly put the States in mind of having a respect to Justice and the Alliance between his Master and the Bishop.

The Deputies of *Guelthers* assur'd that they took the business upon themselves. However certain Commissioners were nam'd, but nothing more done that Year. Next Year, Monsieur *Braybeck* press'd the same demand again. For which reason the States General would have order'd certain other Commissioners to enquire into the affair. But the Province of *Guelthers* would by no means consent thereto, because they had pass'd sentence already, as also for that the Signory of *Porculo* belonged to their Province, and

by consequence the business concern'd them in particular, and not the Generality.

At the same time the Prince of *Lichtenstein* had laid claim to a certain debt which he charg'd upon the Signiories of *Essen*, *Suedsdorp* and *Wimond*, which his Mother-in-law had enjoy'd by the death of her Brother-in-law.

This debt was demanded from the Prince of *East-Friesland*, who was by the Imperial Chamber condemn'd to pay it. The Bishop of *Munster* altogether for having his Oar in every Boat, had so brought it about, that the Emperor offer'd him a Commission to put the Imperial sentence in Execution. In the mean time he labour'd to make the best use of the Opportunity, and to bring his matters about to his chiefest advantage.

To this effect, he so wrought it, that these two powerful Neighbours the Prince and he, under a pretence of hunting the Wild-Boar, should meet together in *Westphalia*, in *August*, 1663. The Bishop was very urgent with the Prince to deliver him up *Eyderland* promising in lieu thereof to take upon himself the whole debt of *Lichtenstein*, and that he would satisfie the clamour. Had this proposal succeeded according to his wish, he would have order'd it so, that the Prince of *Lichtenstein* should have gotten little enough. But in regard this request of his was look'd upon as prejudicial to the States General, this Proposal did nothing please the Prince of *Friesland* and therefore he objected several Obstacles; particularly

ticularly that the said *Eyderland* was under the protection of the States General, and engaged for a certain sum of money. So that no such thing could be done, as well in respect of his Brother, as in respect of the States, who had a share and interest in this affair. Nevertheless he took time to consider of it, as a thing that requir'd a more thoughtful deliberation.

Six days after the Bishop sent Monsieur *John Schnylemburg*, who was fled from *Groningen*, to the Prince to persuade him with all his might to give him the the possession of *Eyderland*. The Magistrates of *Groningen* had sudden intelligence thereof, and gave present Order to the Commander of the Fort of *Langeracker* to seize upon *Schnylemburg* with a party of Musketeers; but he having secret notice thereof, escap'd in a Country mans Cart to *Aurick*; where he shew'd his Orders to the Prince of *East Friesland*, whom he very zealously urg'd to the same surrender but had from him a generous denial. So that *Schnylemburg* by by-ways was glad to recover *Munster* as well as he could.

Nevertheless the Prince offer'd to pay at the Feast of *St. Michael* or fifteen days after, at *Meppen*, in the Country of *Munster*, to those of *Lichtenstein* the Rents of 135000 Crowns, grown due since the end of the last Dyet: and after that at the Feast of *St. Gregory*, 1664. the Capital of *Vianne* also, of 135000 Crowns; and in three Years next following, the Capital or Prin-

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cipal of *Bierum*, with the Interest. Lastly to pay Annually the fourth part of the Rents escheated before the end of the Dyet, upon condition that the Bishop of *Munster* would make good his propositions to the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, who was not likely to get better.

The Ambassador of *Munster* assur'd the Prince that if these Conditions were observ'd he would stay the Execution which he had a Commission to make; which was put into writing and sign'd by both sides. The first time was hardly elaps'd, when the Prince desir'd some little longer time. But the Bishop unwilling to let slip the opportunity, immediately dispatch'd away some Forces from *Munster* to *Eyderfconce*, belonging to the Prince of *East Friesland*, to begin the said Execution. There were not above eight or nine men in the Fort at that time, because the Prince expected no such sudden Attacque, so that the Episcoparians suddainly made themselves Masters of the place. *Elverfield*, whom the Bishop sent upon this exploit, was more wary in keeping it afterwards, reafortifying it, and storing it with all manner of Warlike Provision and Ammunition.

When the News of the surprize of *Eyderfconce* was brought to the *Hague*, they presently adjudg'd the Bishops manner of proceeding irregular, and unhandfomly carry'd, in regard the States had written to him, that they would pay the first 135000 Crowns either to him, or the

the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, when they of *East Friesland* had given them security for the money, which would be done in a short time. More than that, they resolv'd to raise a considerable Force to employ, as they should see cause, if the Bishop refus'd to restore the Fort upon the payment of the first money.

Nor could the States be blam'd for interesting themselves in this affair. For besides that they were oblig'd to take into their Protection the Prince of *East Friesland*; they had just reason to suspect a Prince, who was of such a turbulent humor as to seek all occasions of quarrelling, and sought nothing more than to nestle himself upon their Frontiers with a Foreign Militia; a Prince who demanded from them *Borculo* and other places; and a Prince who was not a little supported by *France*.

These Forces therefore being rais'd, were committed to the charge of Prince *William Frederick* of *Nassau*, Governour of *Friesland*, consisting of Ninety nine Companies of Horse and Foot, in all 4971 men.

In the mean time, the States us'd all their endeavour during the Winter, to free the *Sconce* without the effusion of blood. To this purpose they writ to the Bishop and the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, offering their mediation; they desir'd them to send their Plenipotentiaries to *Lierwert*, as they would also theirs. They propos'd to pay the first sum upon quitting the *Sconce*; but they

could have no answer. On the other side *Everfeld* the Governour, sent to all the Bayliffs and Receivers of *Friesland*, within a months time to bring with them the Registers of all the Revenues, and charging them wthal not to pay any mony, but to such Receiver as either the Bishop or the Prince of *Lichtenstein* should appoint.

Seeing therefore that they could not persuade the Bishop by fair means, the States General resolv'd to go on with their designs. However they writ first to the Bishop, to give him notice of their intentions, letting him know that they were oblig'd to protect the Prince of *East-Friesland*, and his Country against all manner of violence; and at the same time offer'd satisfaction for *Lichtensteins* debt. At last they adviz'd him before the tenth of May to quit the Fort and Country, or that they should be forc'd to make use of such means as God should direct them.

The Bishop answer'd, That he had always made it his business to live in a good Correspondence and Amity with the *United Provinces*; that he had not been severe with the Prince of *East-Friesland*, but had given him his own time; and therefore the States General had no such reason to use such threatening language.

While this Letter was upon the Road the States Forces were marching from their several Garrisons to the General Rendezvous. In the mean

mean while Mr. *Brabech* came from the Bishop of *Münster* to the *Hague* to make an accord: and all things seem'd to look with a fair prospect. The Prince of *East Friesland* was ready to pay. The Bishop or the Prince of *Lobenstein* were ready to receive the money; so that there was no farther dispute but only about the quitting the Fort. At length an agreement was made the 25. of *May*. The Prince of *East Friesland* was to cause 270000 Crowns to be pay'd at *Messel* for the first and second payment; as also 150000 Crowns for Interest. The Bishop of *Münster* was to give an acquittance, and the fifth of *June* he was to begin to quit the Fort, that is to say, the next day after the payment of the money.

Men thought that now every thing was concluded upon. So that Order was given to Prince *William* of *Nassau* to forbear any acts of Hostility against the Fort, which was already Besieg'd, and reduc'd almost to the last extremity. The 31. of *May*, New Seile, being the last day of the Truce, and the time appointed for the Plenipotentiaries of *Münster* to be at Prince *William's* Quarters with the confirmation of the League, four or five persons accompany'd with one Horse man pass'd from the Prince of *Tarent's* Quarters, who was General of the States Horse, by *Stapelmer*, which was Prince *William's* Quarter. Among these were two Embassadors from the Bishop. The States Deputies obser-

ving it, went to them: but they told them without any Complements, that they were sent by their Prince to Treat with the Plenipotentiaries of the Prince of *East Friesland*, to whom they were going with that intent. The States Deputies made answer, that they hop'd they had Orders to Treat with them also, as being the States Deputies in the Army; but they made them the same cold and careless answer as before.

Now in regard it was five hours after the Conclusion of the Truce, and for that the States Deputies were altogether ignorant of the meaning of so strange a proceeding; and had reason to doubt whether they were the Bishops Deputies or no, since they would not declare who they were; besides if they had that absolute power, that it ought to be examin'd and known; it was thought fit to continue the Attacque, as they did the next day. So that the Fort was batter'd from six batteries with sixteen pieces of Canon, several Granado's were also cast into it, which did good Execution.

In the mean time the Bishops Plenipotentiaries got to the Prince of *East Friesland*, and produced the acquittance. But all very ill drawn, and which gave no satisfaction. The Embassadors of *Munster* also publickly declar'd that their Lord and Bishop could not stand to the accord as it was worded in writing. So that it being then impossible to discover his designs,

signs, the Siege was carry'd on, with greater violence, and the Besieg'd were forc'd to surrender upon Articles the fourth of *June*; and to receive the States Garrison.

Several of the Neighbouring Princes understanding these proceedings, had no good wishes for the Bishop, as being a plague both to his Neighbours and his Subjects. The Princes of *Brunswick*, *Wirttenbergh*, and *Hessen* disapprov'd his proceedings, as being a very unjust thing to prosecute an Execution, or to remain in possession of the Lands Mortgag'd, when payment was offer'd upon just acquittances. They were more glad to see the *Eyder Sconce* taken by force, than that it should have been quitted by agreement; to the end the Bishops wings might be in some measure clipt. For such an Execution had not been made in several Ages; And should it come to be us'd, none of the Neighbours could henceforward be secure, since few Princes were to be found without teeth.

Thus ended this War, which was but the beginning of another that follow'd, far more dangerous. The turbulent Bishop, who had already been in Action against the Prince of *East Friesland*, the Count of *Bentheim*, the Count of *Styrum*, the Count of *Fladerf* and others, study'd to make use of the first opportunity to assault and revenge himself upon the States General. But it behoov'd him to stay till some other Prince, more potent than himself, should think

it

it convenient to make use of him: An opportunity that soon presented itself. For the *Eng-lish* being then engaged with *Dutch* in a bloody War, and prudently designing to find them work by Land, as well as by Sea, make agreement to that purpose with the Bishop, and furnish'd him with money. Who thereupon immediately began his Levies and rais'd a considerable Army, both of Horse and Foot. It was not known where the storm would fall, So that *East Priesland*, *Oldenburgh*, and all the Neighbouring Princes were much concern'd. The States General and their subjects were no less startl'd in regard of the great preparation which the Bishop made of Bombs, Granados and other Fire-works.

The States had most reason to be jealous that the storm would light upon their heads. And therefore they Levy'd an Army of 4500 Horse, and 40500 Foot, of which 5000 were design'd for the Sea. It was also necessary that the Forts should be provided, and therefore because those Forces were not sufficient, they resolv'd to take into their service some of the *Lunenburgh* Companies. They also advertised the King of *France* of the Bishops preparations, proposing at the same time whether it were not convenient to prevent the Bishop of *Munster*, and send a flying Army into his own Country, and to carry the heat of the War thither, rather than to suffer him to enter the *Low-Countries*. But the King

King of France did not like that proposition, judging it more proper to stay and observe which way the Bishop would move. For otherwise the whole Empire would be in an uproar, if they should attacque the Bishop first. The Low-Countries, said he, *has Enemies enow; and therefore it is not good for them to awake sleeping Lyons.* The Bishop is of no such importance, but that it will be easie to put a stop to him. And therefore it will be better to abide his small power, than all the Force of the Empire. This Counsell was approv'd and follow'd.

At length a Trumpet arriv'd at the Hague from the Bishop, with a Letter to the States General; which was indeed no more than a Declaration of War. He first complain'd of the affront and dammages which he had receiv'd, which oblig'd him to demand satisfaction; and to secure himself for the future. To which end he plac'd his refuge in God, and the succours of the Potent Princes his Allies, which the Providence of God had rais'd him. That the States General had nothing to do to meddle with the Execution of the Sentences of the Empire. That they had fallen upon his Country contrary to all Equity. That they had plunder'd the Houses of his Nobility. That they had depriv'd the Husbandman of his labour; they had tormented, beaten, robb'd his subjects; they had not spar'd God himself; they had handl'd the Cross of Christ worse than the *Turks* would have done;

done; burnt his Churches, dishonour'd the Sacred Host, and taken *Eyder Sconce* from him in despite of the whole Empire, regarding more their own interest than the advantage of *East Friesland*: all which he was then forc'd to suffer, having sent a part of his Troops to assist the Emperour against the *Turks*. That they detain'd from him his Signiory of *Borculo*; and moreover, that the Court of *Guelders* had condemn'd him in the sum of 150000 Livres They had taken, and put to the rack several *Roman Catholicks*, out of a hatred to their Religion. All which things he had sent to let them know, to the end they might give him satisfaction and security for the future, &c.

The States made answer that they had never made War upon him in his own Country; only that they had been constrain'd the last year, when he enter'd their Territories, and took from them the Fort of *Eyder Sconce*, to repel Force with Force; and that they had not only given him, but the Emperour an account of their actions. That they have been always oblig'd to protect *East Friesland* against all violence: being not only a Frontier of their Dominion, but engag'd to them for several great sums of money. That though their Army had marcht through some part of his Territories, yet that plunder and pillage had been restrain'd under pain of death. That they could not imagin such a spoil of Churches and Temples, but that it was only a pretence

pretence to colour his designs. However if any such damage had happen'd, he ought to have demanded satisfaction at the time when the crimes were committed, and not eight or ten months after. And therefore the States might with more justice require satisfaction from him, since he had put them to such vast charges for the retaking of *Eyder Sconce*, which was engag'd to them: which when they had done, they medl'd no farther with him. That they were surpriz'd at his demand of *Boreulo*, as a Signiory which they detain'd from him: When it was well known that that dispute had been ended, not by Judges interested, but by such as had been chosen by both parties. In the same manner was the business of the 150000 Crowns, which he ow'd to the Count of *Stryum*, brought to determination. That it had been always their desire to live in Peace and Friendship with him, but since he had attacqu'd their Forts and Places of strength, and had begun to harrass their Territories, they would not neglect any means, that God should afford them, to bring him to reason, till they had receiv'd full satisfaction for the damages which they had sustain'd.

The Bishop was so high and so hasty, that he would not stay the return of the Trumpet, nor the States answer: but of a suddain enters *Overyssel*, harrasses the Country with Fire and Sword, made himself Master of *Enschede*, *Oldenseel*,

denfeel, Ommersum, Almelo and Diepenheim. He found *Borculo* quitted, only there were in the Castle a hundred men Commanded by Ensign *Eek*, who ply'd their Guns so well, that he was forc'd to sound a Retreat after he had sustain'd no small loss. But he renew'd the Assault with more men, and tir'd the Garrison with numbers, till they were forc'd to surrender. After that follow'd other places, which could not defend themselves, as *Lochum, Wildenberg House, Dorts de deniecorn, &c.* so that the passage of the *Iffel* lay quite open.

The States General were very much disturb'd at an Invasion, so terrible and so unlookt for. They had to do at the same time with the puissant King of *England* and the Bishop of *Munster*. There was a necessity for their Ships to be provided with men, and their Forts and Frontier Towns with Garrisons, which caus'd so great a scarcity of men that they had hardly enow to withstand the Bishop. Thereupon they made new Levies and sent the Count of *Waldeck* to the Princes of *Lunenburg* for a supply of 6000 men. But they refus'd without the consent of the Elector of *Braundenburg*; and he refus'd, unless they would suddenly quit *Orsoy*, as also the Castle of *Guennip* and *Emmerick* or the *Wessel*, when the Peace should be concluded with the Bishop. The Elector also desir'd the States, that their Garrisons in the Cities of *Cleves* should forbear to make any incursions

Gions into the Country of *Munster*, as he had also requested of the Bishop that those Garrisons should not be molested by him. Nevertheless the King of France sent them above six thousand Horse and Foot, the choicest men which he had in his service, Commanded by *M. Despradelles*, a valiant and experienc'd Captain.

As for the Bishop of *Munster's* Forces they committed all sort of outrages imaginable: For in regard he seldom paid his Souldiers, but left them to subsist upon Contributions and Plunder, every one pillag'd and rob'd for himself. The Emperor offer'd his Mediation to the States to reconcile the difference; but they answer'd that they could not enter into a Treaty till the Bishop had quitted all the places which he had taken. They also wrote to the States of *Munster* to persuade the Bishop to restrain his men from committing those murders, and acts of violence and cruelty, in that barbarous and unheard of manner, and to quit the places which he had taken, or otherwise that they should be found to proceed against them both in general and in particular according to the common Customs of War.

In the mean time the Bishop had sent a part of his Forces into the Province of *Groning*. They march'd over the *Moer* or the *Boerlang* to the Convent of *Tor Apellel*, and made themselves Masters of it. Which caus'd a great Terror at first,

first, but the fear was soon over. The Dutch got together about four hundred Foot and eighty Horse. These between *Sellinguen*, and *Lipzenhuysen*, set upon 1600 Episcoparians, kill'd a good number and took a hundred Prisoners. The rest fled to the Marshes, and in great fear quitted *Ter Appellel*, the Dutch in this enterprize not having lost above thirteen men.

Another Party of the Bishops Forces, consisting of five thousand men, made an Incurſion into the *Drenth*, and march'd directly to *Groningen*. At the Bridge *de Punter* they were repuls'd with loss: but near *Snydhaven* they got over, thinking to have surpris'd *Winſſchoten*, and *Beylinguerde*. Prince *Maurice* came with equal Forces to *Scheemie* and *Miende* with an intention to have inclos'd them in, but they made a shift to get out another way.

The most part of the Bishops Army caus'd a continual fear all along the *Yssel*. The Bishop himself lay at *Deuteron*, where he caus'd the Country people of *Troent* and other Places to acknowledg him for their Sovereign and to come to an agreement with him, that two thirds of the Crop should belong to him; and one to the Husbandman. Here the reproach which the Ambassadour of *France* cast in his teeth, in the name of his Master the King of *France*, was a sharp one, *That though he were an Ecclesiastical Lord, he had falsifi'd his Faith, since he had engag'd to France, not to enterprize any thing against*

the Low-Countries without his Masters knowledg,
which promise he had ignominiously broken. He desir'd assistance at the Diet at *Regensbergh*. But it was answer'd him, that he had undertaken that War of his own head, without any provocation of the *Hollanders*, and therefore even let him end it of himself. The Empire did not think it convenient to meddle with needless and unprofitable Quarrels. If he had brought his affairs into confusion, his best way would be to quit himself as well as he could. Several of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, repair'd every day out of *Holland* to the Bishop, some out of hopes of booty, others to assist him and to exterminate those that they call'd Hereticks, and with an intention to spread the *Roman Catholick Religion*. Whereupon the States issu'd forth a publick Placaet, that they should return again within fifteen days upon pain of death or perpetual Banishment.

The Bishop being repuls'd in the Province of *Groningen*, harrafs'd and ruin'd all the Villages that could not defend themselves. His Troops that had been in *Wischoten*, and *Heyligerlee*, for want of Provision, were retreated into the Country of *Westvoldinger* while the States Troops retook *Lochem*. After that the Army of the States increasing and the *Lunenburgh* Troops approaching, the States of *Munster* began to fear being overlay'd on the one side by the States Forces, while the *Lunenburghers* assail'd

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them

them on the other ; and therefore sent their Deputies to the Bishop, and the Bishops Counsellors themselves represented to the Bishop the danger he was in, desiring him to think of Peace. But he made them answer either in his fury or else in his despair. *He would hazard all Westphalia in this enterprize. Let the worst come to the worst, he had nothing to lose.*

The States had a design to visit the Bishop in his own Country ; for which purpose they had already 17000. men upon the march : but the fierce cold of the Winter then approaching stopp'd their progress, so that the Souldiers were forc'd to retire into their Garrisons. The Bishops Troops also quitted the field, after they had offer'd Battel to the *Hollanders*. Between *Delden* and *Enschede* they attacqu'd 1200 Horse and Foot, who were sent to make themselves Masters of the Castle of *Wickelen*, and put them to a considerable defeat : and thus ended the Year 1665.

The next Year the Elector of *Brandenburg* had taken the States part, upon certain conditions, and labour'd to reconcile the difference between the States and the Bishop. The States were altogether for Peace, and the Bishop saw that the Fortune of the War began to turn, so he was wholly expell'd out of the Province of *Groningen*, and the Commanders for the States General were preparing to lodg their Troops in his Territories so soon as the season would permit.

mit ; which made him bend his Ear to an accord ; to which end he desir'd nothing more than a meeting at *Cleves*.

In the mean time some attacques were made by parties of both sides , but of little consequence, till at last a Peace was concluded in *April*, upon several conditions, The chief of which were, That there should be an Act of Indemnity for all, except Traitors. That the Bishop should quit all places which he had taken during the War. That he should withdraw his Forces out of all the Territories of the States Dominions. That the Bishop should disband his Troops after the Ratification on both sides, and should retain no more than what the Mediators should determine to be sufficient for his Garrisons, which was 3000 Horse and Foot, and that he should not raise any new Levies unless it were for the security of the Empire, or of his Alliances, provided also they were not prejudicial to this Treaty. That the Bishop should quit all Alliances prejudicial to this Peace, and never make any new War against the *Republick*. The States for their parts oblige themselves to perform the same promises on their parts. That the Bishop shall quit his pretences to the Signiory of *Borculo* and its dependencies, without prejudice to the rights of the Empire. That neither the Bishop, nor his successors nor his subjects should intermeddle with any affairs that concern the States General. That the Em-

peror, the King of France, the Electors of Mayence, Treves, Cologne and Brandenburg, the Bishop of Paderborn, Pal, Nienbergh, and the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg, shall be Cautionaries for the observation of these Articles.

This was the sudden conclusion of this War so suddenly enter'd into. The confirmation and publication whereof was made by the Bishop the 20. of April, with these words. *Promising to observe and inviolably to follow in all points and clauses the said Instrument, and not to suffer any proceeding or act to be done against the said Articles.*

But within a few years after it appear'd how well he kept his word.

The Bishop had also sought to pick a quarrel with George William Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, concerning the Office of *Herbstad*, and other things. As also against Ernest Augustus Bishop of Osnaburg, touching the City of *Hoxter*. But these things were also adjusted in the Treaty with the States: so that the Bishop was constrain'd to quit his unjust pretensions.

The time agreed upon for the Bishop to quit those places which belonged to the States General being come, the Bishop rais'd still some new Cavils first in regard of the Prisoners, and then as to the Contributions; touching the quitting of some particular places; concerning *East-Friesland*; and as to some dammages which he had

had sustain'd. This was the occasion of another meeting at *Noordhorn* in the Country of *Benthem*, and another Treaty in the month of *June*. He evaded after a strange manner some words of the Peace: by which it appear'd that it was sorely against his will, that he quitted *Borculo*, for he kept that place as long as possibly he could. And being press'd to performance by *M. Syburg* the States Envoy, he cry'd out, *My City of Borculo; my City of Borculo, that belongs to me both by the Law of God and men!* Than after a short silence, he added, *I will take care that it be quitted.*

After the conclusion of this Peace the States recall'd to mind the inconveniencies they had suffer'd upon the Frontiers of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, not only from the *Munsterians*, but also secretly from the *Spaniards* themselves under the name of *Munsterians*. For that reason they resolv'd to make their complaints at the Court of *Madrid* and to demand satisfaction by *M. Renswonde* then their Ambassadour in *Spain*. To which purpose they send him a Letter to this effect for his Information.

At what time the Bishop of *Munster* was designing to a attacque this Common-wealth, he was known to have made publick Levies at *Brussels*, *Lovain*, *Anwerp*, *Gannt*, *Bructelst*, *Guzders*, *Santvliet*, *Lier*, *Gueel* and other parts. Some of the Governours and Officers of the King of Spain were so kind as to Cashier their

own Troops and Companies, and suffer them to List themselves in the Bishops service, which was the reason that so many Robberies and Violences were committed against the subjects of this State by those that quarter'd in the *Spanish Frontiers*. Gentlemen of Quality were massac'd in their Houses and Castles; many were taken Prisoners, beaten, put to ransoms, or caried away with their goods. These *Munsterian Birds of Prey* always made their retreats to those places where they had been rais'd under the Jurisdiction of the King of *Spain*. There they were in safety, there they sold their stolen goods belonging to the subjects of this State: not in huggermugger, but publickly; as if the Frontiers of the King of *Spain* lay only for a convenient prejudice to the *Low-Countries*.

The States had made their complaints by their Deputies to the *Spanish Ambassador*, requiring satisfaction and security for prevention of the like disorders for the future: but yet no recompence was made to their content and satisfaction. On the contrary the Levies continu'd publickly, and several places were assign'd within the Jurisdiction of the King of *Spain* for the Rendezvouz of those Levies. Whole Companies march'd out of *Brussels* for *Willemsbroeck*, and all by the connivance of the Marques of *Castel Rodriguez* Governour of the *Low Countries*.

In the said places they had form'd designs against several of the most important Frontier Cities and Garrisons belonging to the States, of *Breda, Clundert, Willemstad, Lillo, &c.*

Of these and several other vast injuries and dammages they had often complain'd, but could never obtain satisfaction.

These and many more complaints the States order'd their Ambassadour to exhibit to the Court of *Spain*, to which the slow *Spaniard* had not time to give an answer this Year. So that the so long talkt of Year 1666. made its exit with no other advantage to the *Hollander* than the Peace of *Munster*. But in the Year 1667. that unquiet man of God began again to make considerable Levies both of Horse and Foot. The *States General* having intelligence thereof, and no way confiding in him, wrote him a Letter, to let him know, that it was contrary to the seventh Article of the Treaty, seriously requesting him to desist and not to give his neighbours just occasion of jealousies and suspicions. Thereupon he return'd the *States* this answer, That when he had made a Peace, it was his care to keep it. But considering the great Levies made by his Neighbours, he could not but think it convenient to raise so many men, as were allow'd him by the Constitutions of the Empire, the Instructions of the Peace, and the priviledg of Princes. However that he had no design to employ them, but only for the security

of his own Country, and no way to the detriment of his Neighbours, more especially of their Lordships the States General. What should they do? For they then knew not how to rely upon the words or protestations of the Bishop, yet they could do no other than seem to be satisfied with his Apology.

The same Year he caus'd more disturbances by choosing for his Coadjutor *Ferdinand de Furstenberg*, Bishop of *Paderborn*, Prince of the Holy Empire, Count of *Pyrmont*, &c. against the consent of most of the members of the Chapter, who would fain have chosen the Arch-Bishop of *Cologne*. But the Bishop of *Munster* spoyl'd their design, by excluding some of the members, inveigling others with fair promises, and menacing others, and so by force advancing the Election of the Bishop of *Paderborn*.

But to put a specious gloss upon this Election the Bishop publish'd a large relation thereof, of which we will give the Reader an abstract; only it must be consider'd, that this was the Bishops own work, and that therefore he fram'd it after the most advantageous manner for himself. In the fore-front he places Pope *Alexander* the seventh's Letter, being a serious exhortation to him to take a Coadjutor and a Successor.

Pope Alexander the seventh.

Venerable Brother, our greeting and Apostolick Benediction. The Letters which we have sent you from time to time, apparently testifie how much we are overjoy'd to understand with what care you interest yourself in the advancement and establishing of the Catholick Religion, and that you have reduc'd to your Obedience the Rebellious City of Munster. But in regard that both experience and Histories assure us, that the Benediction of prosperity loses its glory, when we take no care to Establish what we have acquir'd, and do not make use of the means which we have learnt to our cost by the same experience, and by which the Universal Religion and Peace may remain inviolable. Methinks therefore there can be no better means to take away all occasion of disputes that may arise after your death, by the Election of a Successor, than to think of taking a Coadjutor, to cut off all opportunity of discord which may reduce your Country to confusion and misery. And therefore we exhort you seriously to deliberate speedily with your Chapter concerning this matter. And if you are engag'd, according to the custom of some Chapters in Germany, not to take a Coadjutor without the knowledg and consent of the Chapter, we discharge you by vertue of this our present Letter from any such obligation, and give you withal the Apostolical Benediction. Written from Rome the 16.

of

J. Florentine.

There are some who have made the following remarques upon this Letter. 1. That the Bishop, according to the opinion of those who were acquainted with the business, made it his own request to the Pope for this Letter. 2. That those who are call'd the Vicars of Christ are of a different judgment. Pope Innocent the X. would never confirm nor acknowledg for lawfully Elected Bishop *Christopher Bernard*. But *Alexander* the VII. was no sooner mounted to the Papal Chair, but both Confirmation and Legitimation were allow'd. 3. How it is possible that the *Roman* Catholicks should confide in their Princes, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, seeing the Pope can so easily discharge and disingage them from their Promises, Oaths and Allegiances confirm'd and concluded even among the *Roman* Catholicks themselves.

The Bishop receiv'd this Paternal exhortation with a wonderful respect; and in regard he had been acquainted with the disorders in the last Election, he earnestly desir'd to make choice of a Coadjutor. To this purpose he caus'd the Members of the Chapter to assemble the 23. of May, where he propos'd his design by two of his Counsellors; who in a short speech represented

to them, that it was not unknown what praise-worthy actions his Highness had perform'd in the beginning of his Government, having deliver'd and retaken the Forts and Cities of his Country, as *Coesweld*, *Veche*, and *Beverguere*. That he had compos'd several differences with a most pious care and zeal; that he had reduced the City of *Munster* to his obedience, and so firmly settl'd Peace within his Territories, that all his Subjects quietly injoy'd the Estates which God had blest them with. But since his Highness was now in the Sixtieth year of his Age, and that by consequence he could not expect to live long; as also for that to prevent the disorders of Elections, his Holiness had adviz'd and exhorted him by his Letters, to take the first opportunity to choose a Coadjutor and Successor; He was resolv'd so to do. He knows, said they, that there are persons capable of the Employment both here and in other places; but his Highness would propose no person in particular. If they had a mind to choose any Neighbour Prince, or any other Catholick Prince, he would by no means be their hinderance, but leave the Chapter to its liberty. To which he expected a fair answer.

Then the Popes Letter to the Chapter was produc'd as follows.

ALEX-

ALEXANDER VII.

My welbelov'd Children, our greeting to you, and our Apostolick Benediction. In truth you have not deserv'd a little honor, for having assisted your Bishop in reducing and quieting the City of Munster, and in the confirmation of the Catholick Religion. But you will be thought worthy of a greater honour, if by your unanimous Counsel you establish upon solid foundations what you have so happily obtain'd: But since experience tells us that after a Voyage prosperously perform'd, there is most danger to be fear'd at the entry of the Haven itself, you have the same reason to fear that after the decease of your Pastor and Bishop (if while he is yet living, you do not take care to choose another Successour in his place) lest the winds of discord should drive your Vessel upon dangerous Rocks, and cause you to lose what you have acquir'd with so much labour. Therefore We admonish you that in order to Ours, and the will of your Protector, to whom We have discover'd the thoughts of Our heart of Our own accord, setting aside all partiality, you assemble unanimously, and make choice at least of such a Coadjutor, who is to be also your future Successor, whose virtues and merits may be able to sustain so ponderous a weight. And to you, my beloved Children, We give Our Apostolical Benediction, as a Father. From Rome the twenty sixth of September,

the late Bishop of Munster. 81

tember, 1665. In the eleventh year of Our Pontificate.

J. Florentine.

This Letter being Read, and the Bishops Agent withdrawn, the Chapter fell to debate the proposal. Some of the Canons of the Cathedral Church were of opinion, that the affair was of that importance, that it requir'd a longer time to be consider'd of: and that the question ought to be put, whether a Coadjutor were to be chosen? and this too to be consulted at leisure. Others thought it more convenient to comply with his Holinesses Exhortation, and his Highnesses desire, who better knew the condition of the Church and Country. Nay they thought they had already neglected too much time in fulfilling the Popes will, who had desir'd a settlement of this affair toward the end of the Year 1665. and that now the Year 1667. was far spent, by the intervening of several accidents, and that by consequence the business ought to be no longer delay'd. Thereupon it was carried by the major part of voices, that the 19. of *July*, should be appointed for the Election of a Coadjutor, and that the Letters of Citation should be dispatch'd, notwithstanding the *Protestations* of the rest.

Thus there happen'd a great contest between the Members of the Chapter, not so much in reference to the Person, whom they intended to choose; but whether they ought to admit of a
Coadju

Coadjutor or no. As for the Proteſtations of ſeveral, they were little regarded. Others ſay, that the Biſhop had pack'd the voices under hand; and that he had gain'd to his party ſome by promiſes, and others by threats.

In the mean while the Elector and Arch-Biſhop of *Cologne*, *Maximilian Henry*, had transferr'd his Canonſhip of *Munſter* upon M. *Erneſt Leopold de Bockenford*, the Baron of *Nefelrode* his, upon M. *Armand Theodore de Bockenford* and the Baron *de Lebradt* his, upon M. *William de Wene*, whoſe Plenipotentiaries appear'd at *Munſter* in the Month of *June*, and there demanded, that after the uſual examination of their Nobility, their Maſters Eſcutcheon might be publickly hung up in the Chapter houſe. The two firſt were refus'd, as not having right of admiſſion into the Chapter. The firſt becauſe the Tranſlation was made from one kinsman to another, contrary to the Ediſt of Pope *Pius the V.* The ſecond, becauſe it was adjudg'd that the Letter of Transportation was defective. However the firſt was admitted; perhaps becauſe they durſt not offend an Elector and an Arch-Biſhop.

Armand Theodore de Bockenford, and *Henry William de Wende*, proteſted three days after againſt the reſolution of the Chapter; and perſiſted for hanging up the Eſcutcheons. The Dean thereupon, a ſecond time, conſulted the opinion of the Chapter, laid before them the inequality

inequality of the voices, to which he added his own, and pronounc'd Sentence, that the Escutcheons should be hung up, though the rest that oppos'd it had at least as many voices as the Dean, according to the Episcopal Narrative.

These so order'd it, that not only the Escutcheons were not hung up, but also took away the Deans vote, that theirs might be the more effectual. And for so doing, they urg'd, That they had permitted him to be Dean for so many years upon sufferance, whereas he was no Priest, which the Dean ought to be, and that notwithstanding, that by vertue of that obstacle, he was to have no voice in the Chapter, according to the Canon Law, yet he had always given his voice in all things. But now they from whom he had taken the plurality of voices, by his second vote, being no longer satisfi'd, had taken from him the priviledg of voting, till he had shew'd the Bishop his admission into the Order of Priesthood. Beside that they had sufficient to object against the Translation of the Arch-Bishops Canonship upon *Ernest Leopold de Bockenford*, and therefore they publickly protested as well against his reception, as against the hanging up of his Escutcheon; though it had been before unanimously consented to, because, at that time, there was no obstacle to the contrary.

Others

Others relate this affair quite after another manner than the *Episcopal Narrative*. That is to say, that the Bishop would not have the three new Canons receiv'd by those whom he had packt, because they should not act against them in the business of their Escutcheons. And that they had excluded the Dean, because they knew he would not be a party in their Cabals. That for the same reason also he was to lay aside others, of whom he had hitherto taken no notice, notwithstanding that their sentiments and actions were then as well known as now. That they themselves who now refus'd the Dean and the other persons, had a hundred times solicited them for their voices upon other occasions, and without any opposition, had acknowledged them for lawful. That the Bishop by this and his consequent Actions would bring it to pass, that those who did not exactly approve his designs, should oppose him on purpose, that he might thereby take an occasion wholly to exclude them.

Seeing then that the Members of the Chapter (that is to say, they who had excluded the said persons) were jealous lest the Dean, as also the Vicar Baron of *Bucholtz* should find a way to make any farther interruption, either by giving their voices illegally or by any other means, they requested his Highness to stand by the resolutions which he had taken, by all manner of expedient means, and to forbid the Dean upon a penalty

penalty to give his voice any more; that the errors already committed might not spread themselves any farther. Now because the Bishop could not refuse this request, as well for that the fact was apparent, as also that he might not seem to neglect Justice and the Holy Canons, he commanded the Dean in writing, to forbear giving his voice in the Chapter, till he had made himself out to be a Priest. This same Dean was *M. Jodocus Etman de Brabeck*, whom the Bishop had formerly employ'd to the States General to demand the Signiory of *Boreulo*, and upon several other Affairs. Besides that, he excus'd the Dean from his Employment, as being accus'd by a part of the Members of the Chapter, for having acted against some Ecclesiastical Laws in the Translation of Prebends, &c. Which suspension should continue, till such time as he had the Popes Absolution. This he caus'd to be publish'd by his Commissaries in the usual place.

In the mean time the Ecclesiastick Fiscal had made an exact search into the lives and conversations of those Gentlemen who had voices in the Chapter, knowing that the Sacred Canons excluded all from the Election who were punishable. And thereupon, a certain Ecclesiastical Person was accus'd before his Highness, for having publickly kept a Concubine four and twenty years, and for having to do with several other women, to the great scandal of the Cler-

gy and people: Besides that in the Administration of the Arch-Deaconry, he had assum'd to himself a greater Authority than the Pope, dispensing, with an unsufferable arrogance, with several Marriages in the first and second degree, and commanding the Priests to finish those Marriages which he had concluded Lawful. Which things being known and not punish'd by the Dean, therefore they desir'd, that for his negligence he might be suspended from his Employment.

The Bishop presently consented, and caus'd publication thereof to be made in the usual place. The same misfortune befel two others. 'Tis true they Appeal'd; but their Appeals were rejected.

Upon the 16. of June, being the same day that the Bishop was to attend the Funerals of the preceding Bishops of *Munster*, by eight of the Clock in the Morning came a Publick Notary to him as he was just entred into the Church in his Episcopal Habit, and ready to be attended up to the Quire by the body of the Clergy, and put into his hand a writing from the Dean, to let him know, that though neither in pursuance of his Oath, nor by virtue of any agreement, he was oblig'd to take upon him the Order of Priesthood, of which there were several Presidents to be produc'd, not only in the Diocess of *Munster*, but in several other places; nevertheless that he had receiv'd the Order of
Deacon

Deacon the second of July, and the Sunday following the Order of Priesthood, and consequently before the publication of the Decree by which his vote was taken from him, because he was no Priest. And this was confirmed by the Copies of two writings annex'd.

The Bishop took them without any appearance of being displeas'd at the importunity of the Notary. But he remember'd this for all that the same day, to the end he might take it for a warning not to be slow'd another time, tolling him withal that he should produce the Originals, because the Copies were not sufficient. Two days after the Notary came more confidently than before with his witnesses, and by an unusual way getting into the Anti-Chamber, shew'd himself to the Bishop, then just Habited in all his Formalities, and ready to go to hear Divine Service, accompany'd with his Chaplains, Canons and Courtiers. He was so offended, that he gave the Notary a bloody rebuke, & commanding him from thenceforward, not to come any more without leave before Persons of his Quality, or if he had any thing to show him, to give it to his Vicar General. The Notary obey'd, and gave the Originals to the Vicar General, to prove that the Dea was both Deacon and Priest. But the Bishop still found out something or other to cavil at. As that it was done by another Bishop, out of season,

without any necessity, &c. Beside that, he commanded him to prove that he had observ'd all those things which the Church of Rome enjoins upon the like occasions. Thus the *Episcopal Narration*. Others go further, accusing the Bishop not to have done well by the Dean and other persons, and that by these delays, and denyals to hear their justification, he only kept them in suspense, till the Election were past, according to his desire.

We have told you, that the day of Election, was by one part of the Members appointed to be the 19. of July. The 18. was the Feast of St. *Maximus* the Martyr, whose Reliques had been brought six years before into this City with a great deal of Ceremony, as being given by the Pope to the Bishop, and were shew'd in the Cathedral, where they were put for the defence of the Diocess, in the place of those Reliques which the *Anabaptists* had burnt a hundred years before. But it is observable, that the Feast of the Reliques was kept a day before the Feast of St. *Maximus*. The second day, the Bishop would needs go to Church, with all his Episcopal Ornaments. But because the day before, contrary to the opinion of all men, there was but a small appearance of Canons to wait on his Highness to the Quire, he was apprehensive that the same thing would happen at this great Ceremony, to his shame and the scandal of the people, who were wont to flock to that Procession.

Session. And of this he was the more jealous, because contrary to his Orders, they had decreed a meeting of the Chapter upon the Festival-day, at a time when they should be at Divine Service, and without any necessity.

So then when he thought that the Canons were assembl'd in the Quire, he sent his Lacquy to let them know, that he intended to come to Church. But contrary to his Orders, they were got before into the Chapter House to debate about the admission of the three new Canons. Thereupon the Lacquy went to the oldest Beadle, to tell the Canons that the Bishop was preparing to come to Church. But though he were come very near it with all his Court, there was not one that stir'd forth to meet him. Thereupon the Beadle was sent a second time to tell them the Bishop was at hand. A great part of the Chapter upon that seem'd willing to rise, but the Deans party over-persuaded them not to stir, desiring not only the admission of the three new Canons, but also of another young Canon, whom they had sent for with a *French* precipitation.

In the mean while the Bishop stay'd at the Church door, to be conducted by the Canons through the body of the Church to the Quire, and to receive the Holy-water Pot from the chiefest of the train, but all to no purpose; not a man stir'd, but only one, who told the Bishop that the greatest part were ready to obey him; but that the rest would not consent. For this

cause he made a protest, by his *First Chaplain*, and *Apostolick Notary* upon the contempt which they had put upon him in the Face of the whole world; and withal sent word to the Canons of the Chapter to come forth and do their duties, by giving him those honors and respects which were due to him, being at the Church-door and in his Episcopal Robes; or else that he would pronounce sentence of suspension against them all for their disobedience. Upon which they put it to the vote, and the major part carry'd it, that they should obey, and break up the Chapter for that day. Though others were of opinion that they could not be constrain'd by threats to attend upon the Bishop as he commanded them: but that it was at the good will and pleasure of every one; and that therefore the Assembly should not dissolve. Now when the Bishop had stay'd a long time in vain, he was fain to march by himself through the body of the Church, to the Quire, madded at the very heart, and not a little to the astonishment of the rest of the Clergy, Magistrates and people. After the offering of the Sacrament, he assisted at the *Canonial Prayers* for the *Vicars* and *Canons*, and after that, at the great *Service* of *St. Maximus the Martyr*. In all which time not one person appear'd to the great scorn of his Highness, and scandal of the Clergy, till at length the Chapter-breaking up, the Canons came an hour after and seated themselves by the Bishop who had

had perform'd Divine Service alone by himself.

The Bishop was deeply concern'd at this affront; and therefore he thought it absolutely necessary to make an example of some, to the end he might reduce the rest to submission and obedience. And therefore by vertue of his Episcopal Authority he discharg'd four of the Members of the Chapter, till they should make submission by a publick satisfaction and recantation. This he gave them to understand by the Popes Notary, before the *Charge of the Holy Ghost*. Among the four, three were Arch-Deacons, and of them one was the Bishops Chaplain. That very day had been appointed for the Election of a Co-adjutor, and therefore the *Charge of the Holy Ghost* was to be celebrated in all the Churches. The Bishop also resolv'd to assist at that Mass, of which he gave the Canons notice; who were met at six of the Clock in the morning; at what time one of the Canons shew'd four Copies of the *Metropolitan*, in favour of the three new Canons, which could not be admitted, as also of the other three whom the Bishop had punish'd with suspension: sign'd the sixteenth of July.

One part of the Chapter which they say was the least, desir'd that the Copies might be ready and that they should be submitted to before they saw the Originals. But the major part were of opinion that they ought to receive the Copies, as coming from the *Metropolitan*, with all respect, but that they should forbear to read them,

because they had had a second notice that the Bishop stay'd for them at the Church door. Thereupon the most part went to meet the Bishop; Others protested against them; as if they had refus'd to read the Metropolitans Letters, and submit to them; and stay'd in the Chapter House.

The Bishop offended at their obstinacy, and their refusal to give him the honor which was due to him, commanded them by a Notary to attend in the Quire upon pain of suspension, but though he sent a second time, they took no notice of it. After Service was ended, the major part again return'd to the Chapter. Whereupon the Vicar, Lord of *Bucholms*, caus'd a Protestation to be openly read by the Secretary; and afterwards made another Protest by word of mouth against violence and oppression; adding also that he made his Appeal; which being enter'd, he presently withdrew out of the Chapter; being follow'd by ten other Canons.

The Bishops party made a Counter Protest. After that the Metropolitans Letters were read; but because it was not mention'd whence they were written, they were somewhat suspected. Thereupon they also Protested against the Letters, and Appeal'd. In the mean time, the Bishop sent to the Chapter, to tell them, that he had pardon'd the four which he had Suspended, and that therefore they had their liberty to take their places in the Chapter, and to give their votes truly at the Election, as well as the rest.

Finis

'Tis

'Tis thought that he had brought to his bow those whom he had Suspended; lest otherwise, the choice, made by an Assembly not compleat, might be taken for illegal and of no force. Or, according to the opinion of others; because he thought them to be so highly offended, both they and their Favourites, that they would scorn to accept of so small a favour, and that therefore he should thereby have a good occasion of an excuse for excluding his opposers, as being their fault. And indeed instead of appearing, they declar'd publickly that they could not be present at the Election, nor consent to it because of their suspension; as also for that the Metropolitans Orders were not obey'd, and that they had begun the Election already.

Answer was made to this Protest, That there was no person hinder'd or excluded out of the Chapter. That the suspension, of which themselves were the cause, was taken off, so far as concern'd the Election. That the Metropolitans Originals had never been seen; That the Election was not concluded, and therefore they had still their votes, and Liberty to speak freely.

Now after they had expected two hours the return of those that were sent, there was but one of the whole number that return'd to give their votes. And therefore those that were present proceeded to the Election, and chose for Coadjutor and Successor to the Bishoprick of *Munster*, *Ferdinand* Bishop of *Paderborn*, Prince
of

of the Holy Empire, Count of Pyrmont, Canon of the Chapter of this Province: who notwithstanding he was in possession of the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, yet might be Elected Coadjutor and Successor to the Bishop of *Münster* by virtue of an Indulgence from the Pope, which was shewn. But some concluded from hence, because they had seen the Indulgence before, that the Bishop had lay'd his Plot with the Pope before hand, and then with the Canons of his Faction.

We have handl'd this matter the more largely, to let the Reader see that as our *Christopher Bernhard* was advanc'd to the Episcopal Chair, by the quarrels and dissensions of the Chapter, it was in the same manner that he chose to himself a Coadjutor and Successor to his Bishoprick. But trouble and turmoil haunted his unquiet and restless spirit as the shadow follows the substance.

In the Year 1668 the King of *France* had again invaded the *Low-Countries*, under the Jurisdiction of the *Spaniards*, taking Cities one after another; and for that reason the *States-General* thought it necessary to arm themselves for War, as well for their own preservation and security, as to put themselves into a condition that might render them able to procure Peace between the two Nations. To this end they treated with the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lüneburg* for a supply of 600 Horses, and 3600 Foot. This small Army had no way to get into

the Low Countries, but with great loss of time and many inconveniences. And therefore the States sent the *Sieur De Amerongen* to the Bishop to acquaint him with this affair, and to desire him, that those Forces might march the nearest way through his Territories, promising that his Subjects should not receive the least detriment thereby. The Envoy also from the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh* made him the same request.

The Bishops answer was, that in August last past, he had enter'd into an Obligation with the Electors of *Mayence*, *Chlōn*, and the Duke of *Nieuburgh*, not to assist either of the two parties, as also not to permit the march of any Troops through his Territories, and that therefore he could not consent to their request, till he had sent notice thereof to his Allies beforehand, to know their minds; to whom he also offer'd to send an express for that purpose. The *Sieur De Amerongen* remonstrated to him, that this permission of passage did not interfere with any thing that he had concluded with those Princes, because the State, had not rais'd those Troops, but to be capable to make War, with an intention to procure Peace; and that they had not the least design to make use of these Forces against either of the two parties, unless constrain'd by utmost necessity. But all those persuasions wrought nothing upon him: He spake fair enough, but he persever'd in his first answer,

though

though by the first Article of the Treaty which he had made with the States, he were oblig'd to permit their Souldiers free passage through his Country,

At last upon the urgent importunity of the *Sieur De Amerongen*, he told him, seeing that the Peace was already concluded between *France* and *Spain* at *Aix La Chapelle*, that he thought he might give Liberty, at least he would not impede the march of the said Troops of the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg* through his Country, provided they did no wrong to his Subjects, but paid for what they had; which was promis'd him. At this Conference the Bishop twice assur'd the Ambassadour with great asseverations, of his good intentions to the States, and that he had resolv'd to live by them in a good correspondence and as a friendly Neighbour.

In the meantime he had violated the Treaty which he had concluded with the States, as having already made considerable Levies. To one Footman he gave eight, sometimes ten Crowns; and all the world knew, that it was not out of own pocket; so that when they added to this his so long time refusing the free passage of their Souldiers, they could not but of necessity suspect him. And indeed the plot that lay concealed under these probabilities appear'd afterwards. He was in truth Ally'd to *France*, and made his Levies with that Kings money,

mony; to Attacke the *United Provinces*. Certain Counsellors also of that Bishop had already written into *Holland*, before that Monsieur De *Amerongen* was arriv'd in the Territories of *Munster*, that it would be a difficult thing for him to obtain Liberty for the States Souldiers to pass that way. Nor would he have ever consented, Had not the King of *France*, over-aw'd by the Triple Alliance, made a Peace with *Spain*. For though the Bishop made use of the foresaid excuse, he had secretly sent to the King of *France* to know how he should behave himself upon such a ticklish point, and had obtain'd the Kings, before he gave his own consent.

By this Peace the Bishop was no longer in a condition to assist *France*, nor to execute the designs which he had projected against the *Low-Countries*.

Now though that in the Treaty of Peace with the States General he had quitted all his pretensions to the Signiory of *Forculo*, yet it was alwaies his eager desire to have that Territory united to the Bishoprick of *Munster*. And as an argument for it, the *Munsterians* everywhere discour'd, that their Bishoprick was the only Bulwark against any Enemy that had an Intention to invade the Provinces of *Guelders*, *Friesland*, *Groningen* and *Emdden*; so if the Estates, would but keep a good Correspondence with the Bishop, those Provinces need to stand
in

in fear of nothing. And therefore it would well be worth their while to quit that stumbling block, and surrender *Borcule* to the Bishop. But because he well knew that he should never obtain it by specious pretences, he still made it his business to lay hold upon all opportunities to get that Signiory into his clutches by force; and as much more as he could. But the Peace had put a conclusion to that affair: however that he might not be idle, he occasion'd new Trouble in *Westphalia*.

The Count of *Brunken* had renounc'd the Reformed Religion and had made publick profession of the *Catholick* in the City of *Cassels*. Of this, people discours'd variously, as their affections lead them; some thought that the Count finding his affection grown cold for his first Wife, was desirous to Marry another, and to put the children which he had by the first into a Religious House. But there was no probability of his doing this, so long as he professed the Reformed Religion. But being turn'd Papist, there was a likelihood that the Pope would easily permit him, who dispenses with many things more hainous than that.

Others think that he was persuaded thereto by the Bishop of *Minster*, desirous to prejudge the *Lower Countries* by the loss of so eminent a person as the Count.

How

However it were, so soon as the Count had chang'd his Religion, the Bishop began to concern himself in his affairs. Presently, with a party of Horse and Foot, and fourteen pieces of Canon, accompany'd with the Count of Ben-
them he claps down before the Castle of Ben-
them; believing that the Countess, who was within it, would stand upon her defence; by reason that the place being built upon a Rock, is so well Fortify'd by its situation, that it is impregnable, and can only suffer by fire. But the Countess, having sent her four, others say six children to the Hague, sent her Husband the Keys of the Castle, into which the Bishop and the Count enter'd both together.

The Sunday following the Bells rung to Sermon as formerly; and the Gentlemen and servants belonging to the Count, with other people assembled to Church, as they were wont to do. But when the Minister came to perform his duty, they would not let him come in, telling him that he had nothing now to do there. This very much surpriz'd those of the Reformed Religion; but there was no remedy but patience. Immediately after that, the Fort was surrender'd into the Bishops hands to be kept by his Soldiers under the command of a Major. The Catholick Religion was introduc'd and exercis'd therein; and the Jesuites had an allowance of Lands and Goods bestow'd upon them to build a Colledg there. The Countess was carry'd to

Munster,

Munster, and lodg'd in the House of the *Sieur Romer*, a Burgomaster of the Town. From thence she wrote a Letter to some of her intimate Friends, assuring them that her trust was only in God, and that for all the world she would not alter her Religion.

In the mean time the Bishop of *Munster* told some of his Friends, that he wish'd with all his heart, and that he would give some thousands that the States of the United Provinces would concern themselves in this business, that he might but have an opportunity to march against them.

Nevertheless he sent to the States to assure them he had no ill intentions: and that he would live by them like a Friendly Neighbour. That he had done no injury to the Reformed Religion in regard it was freely allow'd in the Town of *Bentheim*. But when they demanded of him to have this promise put in writing, he refus'd it. The Town of *Steinfurt*, wherein the Count was lately deceased, was kept by his Garrisons, under pretence that it was a Fief of his Diocese. Nevertheless he let alone the nether County of *Berabem*, and also *Schutterop* and *Nyenbry* being a Fief belonging to the Province of *Overyssel*.

Certain it is that the Bishop had had a pique at the Count of *Bentheim* for many years, and in the end you find how he brought his design about. He writes a Letter to the States Ge-

neral upon this Subject, sign'd at *Hofmer* the 14. of *September*, 1668. that the Souldiers who had been before the Fortrefs of *Benthem*, were absolutely free from the Oaths of Fidelity which they had sworn to him, and Cashier'd out of his service; and that presently after they had given their Oaths to his Imperial Majesty, to the Holy Empire, to the Circle of *Westphalia*, and the Holy County of *Benthem*; which was testify'd by the Count himself in a Letter dated from the Castle the 28. of *August*; and yet the Bishop in the same Letter, immediately after the words already recited, says, *We must confess that we did assist the said Holy Count, for the security of his Castle and Person.*

Thus hitherto the Flames of War between the States of the United Provinces seem'd to be in some measure extinguish'd; and yet upon every slight occasion you might perceive that the Embers were but cover'd up, to kindle the materials of a new fire. This same Prince, altogether given to quarrel, never desisted from making his Levies, either privately or publickly; which gave the States General sufficient occasion, and that not without reason, to be jealous of his proceedings. For they knew him too well, to be deluded by his fair words. In the Year 1669. he augmented his Levies to a very considerable number. Yet no person could dive into his intentions. He assembl'd the States of his Diocess: and though by his last Wars they were

very much impoverish'd, for he not only shorn his Sheep, but slay'd off their skins, he demanded of them a considerable sum of money; that is to say, that they should furnish him between the Feast of the Purification and Easter, with a hundred seventy five thousand Crowns, and as much more between Easter and Michaelmas.

The Estates would by no means agree to this, because the Bishop had not dismiss'd certain Troops of Horse, and several Reformato Officers, without which being done, they would not break up their Assembly; for they were certainly assur'd that he was meditating some unnecessary War. The Bishop to inveigle them, and the better to obtain his ends, dismiss'd the Lieutenant General of his Artillery, a Major General, three Captains, six Lieutenants, and four Ensigns: but the deceit of his heart was quickly discover'd, by his soon after Listerg these very Cashier'd Officers again into his service. And besides this, he kept an exact correspondence at *Paris*; the *French* money was also very plentiful at *Munster*; which bred no small mistrust among his Neighbours.

In the midst of these Transactions, the City of *Hamborough* began to taste of his turbulent spirit. Some persons had persuaded him, that they could find a quicker passage for the Post-Letters that pass'd and repass'd through his Countries, if they might be furnish'd at *Hærburg*

burgh and not at *Hamburg*. The Bishop very inclinable to lay hold of this opportunity, order'd that all Letters and Pacquets directed into *Holland* should be sent back; and stopp'd up the Post-Road. This caus'd the Magistrates of *Hamburg* to fix upon their Posts, that no person should send any Letters to the *Low-Countries*, but by the Post-Masters of their City, and because the Bishop would admit no Posts but his own to pass through his Territories, and still rais'd great Forces besides, publicly giving out that no person should prescribe him Laws in his own Country; there was some apprehension that this affair, first stirr'd by the *Trouble-world* of *Munster*, would come to the decision of dry blows; the rather because the Dukes of *Brunswick* were also concern'd.

At that time the States General began to mistrust the King of *France*, fearing that he would one day invade their Dominions, because that by their good management, they had prevented him from making himself Master of all the *Low-Countries*, knowing he had no kindness for them ever since. As for the Bishop, too many things were variously reported of him every day, that no body knew what to believe. Fear and terror so possess'd the Country of *Guelders*, that many people retir'd into the strong Holds of *Doesburgh* and *Arnhem*; which caus'd the like consternation in all places through which they pass'd, though there were nothing certainly

known which way the Episcopal Troops intended their march. The Inhabitants of *Grol* were no less in fear, because that some of the Bishop's Troops were seen roaving about the Country every day: but their dread increas'd upon the report that the Bishops design was upon *Borculo, Hoogbeim, Holten* or some other place.

The same thing was reported of *Groningen* but without any certainty. It was also said that some other *German* Princes were in Confederacy with the Bishop, and that when their forces were joyn'd, they would make up a very puissant and numerous Army; but that fear had no foundation at that time, in regard things were not yet ripe for action. In the Year 1670 he pick'd a new quarrel with Duke *Radolph Augustus* of *Brunswick Wolfenbuttel*, about the City of *Hoxter*, six Leagues a this side *Cassel*. Ever since *Martin Lamber's* time, and the War of *Smalcald*, there had been great contesting about this place between the Duke of *Brunswick, Lauenburgh*, and the Abbot of *Corvay*, to whom this City belongs with five or six Villages, the yearly Revenue whereof amounted to 5000 Crowns. But at last this affair was determin'd, and the agreement approv'd at a Dyet of the Empire.

Thus it remain'd till the death of the last Abbot, after whose decease, the Monks of that fair Abby had chosen the Bishop of *Munster* to supply his place, though not by a unanimous

consent. And now was it possible that he, who was so little a lover of Peace, should let such an opportunity as this fall asleep? There were at *Hexter* two Protestant Churches, of which there was no use made; and therefore he wrote to the Duke of *Brunswick, Lunenburg*, to request one of them for the *Roman Catholics*. But the Duke, as Protector of the City, made him answer, that he would never consent that the Priviledges of the Cities should be taken from them, but that he would preserve them, according to the above-mentioned agreement, and the Peace made in the Year, 1649. And thus the business rested till some differences arose about the priviledges of Brewing; So that the Duke for the preservation of a Protestant City, was forc'd to send some Companies both of Horse and Foot to Guard it.

The Bishop of *Munster* was highly offended at the placing of this Garrison in the Town, and as he was one that sought all occasions of contention and War, he thought he had now found a smart opportunity. To this purpose he wrote immediately to all the Electors and Catholick Princes, except the Duke of *Nienburg*, complaining of the injury done him, and exclaiming against the Duke of *Brunswick*, as a disturber of the Peace, who supported his Rebel Subjects against him that was their lawful Sovereign, and hinder'd the exercise of his Authority in his own Territories: desiring there-

fore the Catholick Princes to lend him their assistance for the recovery of his right, and for the reparation of the damage and shame which he had undergone.

Besides all this, he publish'd a *Manifesto*, wherein he endeavour'd to justifie his pretences, laying all the wrong upon the Duke, making use of very sharp expressions, and laying aside all thoughts of composure and accommodation, saying that he was resolv'd to prosecute such a disturber of Christendom.

The said Duke having read the Letter, publish'd a Counter *Manifesto*, wherein he declar'd that the Bishop had not touch'd at all upon the most considerable matters; and that he founded his right upon an ill grounded process touching the Brewing of *Hoxter*. The Princes of the Circle of *Lower Saxony*, nay the King of *Sweden* himself had written to the Bishop, advising him to forbear such oppressions, and to leave the City the full enjoyment of their Priviledges: the same thing did the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*. But the more they requested Lenity, the more rigorous and tyrannical was he: so that the poor people were almost ruin'd. He had taken from the Council of the City, their Judicial power in Civils; so that they only retain'd the shadow of a Magistracy without any Authority, and all this under pretence of their having Mortgag'd their Jurisdiction; which was false. Or granting that were true, yet could

could not he be Judg in his own cause, nor assume to himself all the Jurisdiction as a Judg; much less to Levy such unheard of and cruel Executions, which had hardly left one Beast upon the Lands belonging to the City. Nay the Execution Cart had been in every Street in *Hoxter*, where the Bishops Officers took away their very Victuals, Bread, Meat, Bacon, their Linnen and Beds from under them, &c. The Officers of the Council of *Hoxter* were also imprison'd for executing the Commands of the said Council, and new Prisons were made to shut up the Burgesses of *Hoxter* themselves, as fast as they could catch them.

Now by the Peace of *Munster* and *Osnaburgh* in the Year 1649. the priviledg of the Brewing was particularly confirm'd to the Town according to its Antient Rights. Though afterwards they were somewhat disturb'd in the injoyment of their Grant, because they would not suffer their Beer to be sold by the Province of *Coruay*, which they had always wont to do formerly. On the other side the Bishop had permitted the Secretary of *Coruay*, call'd *Maule*, who was neither Brewer nor Citizen to exercise the Trade of Brewing in the City, whereby the Citizens were depriv'd of their Livelyhoods, contrary to the expresse engagement made by those of *Coruay* in the Year 1656. and 1649.

Four or five Citizens refusing to obey the priviledges of the Magistrates in the matter of
Brew-

Brewing, oppos'd themselves against the Magistrate, brake into the Town House, and would have kill'd the *Syndick*, if the other Burgessees had not prevented them. Beside that they made their complaints to the Regents of *Corvay*, where the Bishops Counsellors heard them very kindly, protected them, and encourag'd them to farther mischief against the *Syndick* and others. The Council and Burgessees of the City perceiving what the others drove at, publicly protested against their Illegal Actions, by a Notary and two Witnesses. Moreover the Burgoasters and Council of the City wrote to the Bishop of *Munster*, humbly laying before him the Illegal proceedings of the Regents of *Corvay*, requesting him with all submission to provide a remedy against them. Which evidently shews, that the Citizens of *Hoxter* had no design to withdraw their obedience from their Sovereign, but only to remedy disorders by way of Justice. Besides that, it was a dispute between Citizens and Citizens; and therefore to be decided by the Council of the City,

But at length, after the Inhabitants of *Corvay* were resolv'd to proceed to execution, and had taken away the Citizens Cattel, they began to put themselves into a posture of Defence, finding also the Country people in *Corvay* in Arms; so that they were afraid of being surpriz'd, the Gates and Walls of their City being almost ruin'd. 'Tis true, the Bishop vaunted in his
Mani-

Manifesto, that he had us'd the City of *Hoxter* very kindly; and that he had exacted nothing from them for the support of the common exigencies. They answer'd, that the world might judg by his actions of the favours he had done them, and that therefore his asseveration was not true. For so soon as he was enter'd upon the Regency, he had laid new Impositions upon Cattel, which nevery an Abbot before had done. Moreover when the Infantry and Cavalry of *Munster* return'd from the War of *Hungary*, the City of *Hoxter* had quarter'd them all, without the least Contribution of the Province. They had always pay'd the Taxes of the Empire and Circle. He had demanded a thousand Crowns of them for his Wars against the *Turks*. He requir'd them to pay their share in the Tax upon the whole Province, though he had taken from them their Brewing Trade and remov'd it into the Country, quite contrary to the old agreements between the Province and the City; and instead of redressing, he had reject'd their complaints, and more and more oppress'd them.

Therefore they made it out by the Peace of *Munster*, that the City might put itself into a Posture of Defence against all Oppression, by the words of the Article, which says, *That if by neither of these two ways, (that is Compromise, or Law) the matter could be determin'd in three years, They who are interested in the instrument of Peace, shall Unite their Forces, take Arms,*

Arms, and withstand the oppressor. By which it appear'd, that it was lawful for the Duke of *Brunswick* to assist the Citizens, and the rather because he was their Protector, and for that he had no other aim than to defend the priviledges of the City, and to guard them from oppression. The Bishop indeed had declar'd that it was not for Subjects to seek for protection without the consent of their Sovereign. But to that they answer'd by the expresse words of the Imperial Agreement in the Year 1555. *Provided that this shall be no pretence to binder them, who have been long in possession, from putting themselves under protection.*

The Bishop had also declar'd that the Protection of the City of *Hoxter* did not belong to the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh*; But that was made out to the contrary by the Letters of Protection of *Otho* and *Magnus* Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh* in the Year 1332. by the Testimony of *Timon*, Abbot of *Corvay*; as also by several examples in the Years 1416. 1434. 1450. 1500. 1517. 1553. 1633. &c.

To which they added what was expressly concluded in the accord between the City and the Province. That no Abbot shall be admitted to the Regency, unless he shall engage and subscribe beforehand to observe the agreements made with the City, and to maintain the Rights and Priviledges thereof, which was done by the Bishop of *Munster* as Administrator of *Corvay*:
and

and consequently they had never sworn fealty to him.

It was concluded therefore, because the Regent of the Province of *Corvay* had robb'd the Citizens of almost all their Cattel, to the number of above 450 head of Cows and Oxen, besides Horses: because he had Arm'd the Country people; because he had so many ways Tyrannically oppress'd the City, and for that the City had earnestly desir'd his protection, that therefore the said Duke could not but put a Garrison into the City. Which he did not do till he had demanded of the Regents of *Corvay* restitution of the Cattel, offering sufficient caution withal, that they should have what they requir'd, in case the City were found to be in the fault. To which they gave no other reply, but only that the affair concern'd him not at all, but only the Bishop of *Munster*.

All this while the Bishop of *Osnaburgh* meddled on neither side, only offer'd his service toward an accommodation, testifying by his Envoy how much he was troubl'd to hear these disputes. One would have thought the Bishop should have thank'd him for his kind proposal; but the *Munsterian* took it so ill, that he held him for his Enemy, and threatn'd him with open War, if he would not promise not to molest him in the retaking of *Hoxter*.

As to the complaints of the City of *Hoxter* put up to the Dyet of *Regensburgh*, against the Bishop

Bishop of *Munster*, they were five in number, concerning Ecclesiastical matters, and thirty two as to Civil affairs. That contrary to the Peace in the Year 1649. by which the City was repossess'd of all their Prerogatives both Spiritual and Secular, he had introduc'd the exercise of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and had by violence taken away from the Protestants the Church of *St. Nicolas*, and given it to the *Franciscans*. That he had erected a *Tribunal of Spiritual Catholick Justice*, as he call'd it, wherein he exacted Fines, and punish'd those who had been already punish'd by the Council of the City. That he cited before his Tribunal the Citizens, Counsellors and Ministers of the Protestant Religion, and condemn'd them in great Fines; which if they refus'd to pay, his Officers seiz'd upon their Houses. That he constrain'd the Council under severe penalties to elect Popish Burgomasters. When they made Holy-day for the Festival of *St. Vit*, at *Corvay*, he caus'd all the Country people of the upper Villages of the Province with their wives, children and servants, to march through the City Drumming and Singing and carrying about their Images and Baubles, to the great scandal of the Protestants. If it chanc'd that this Feast of *St. Vit* happen'd upon an *Easter*-day, he suffer'd the same rabble to come to the Protestant Church-door and there to make such a disturbance that the Minister was forc'd to leave his Pulpit.

In

In Civils, he had acted directly against the said Peace. He had taken from the Magistrate all their Authority as well in Civils as Criminals which they had enjoy'd for many Ages. If the Burgomasters and Counsellors offer'd to punish any Malefactor according to their duty, he lay'd severe Fines upon them, and levy'd them upon their Goods both within and without doors. He lay'd an execution upon Burgomaster *Wildenborer*, because he had stood up for the privileges of the City, above sixteen Years before, in the time of the deceas'd Abbat. He had taken from them their Right of Brewing, by which it was granted, that all the Beer, bought in the Town should be bought of the Citizens only. He had refus'd them their antient right of Imposts. That he had constrain'd the ruin'd Citizens to quarter three whole Regiments of Horse and Foot, and to provide them Fire, Salt, Meal, &c. with several other oppressions and breaches of their privileges too long to recite.

In the mean while Colonel *Bentink* arriv'd at the *Hague* in the month of November, 1670. to acquaint the States General of the cause of the Levies made by the Bishop of *Munster*, that is to say, to punish the obstinacy of the City of *Hoxter* in the Province of *Corvay*: adding withal that his Master, notwithstanding all the reports to the contrary, had no other intention toward the States, than to be their good Neighbour and Friend, his design being only to maintain his

his own rights against the Dukes of *Brunswick Wolfenbuttel* and *Lunenburgh*. After that, he departed from the *Hague* for *Amsterdam* and *Utrecht* to buy Arms for his Master. But the States of the latter Province understanding his Errand, wrote immediately to the States General, desiring that the River *Yssel* might be carefully guarded, more especially that the Garrison of *Doesburgh* might be reinforced; because the Bishop of *Munster* had quarter'd several of his Souldiers about *Brevoort*, which City was in the Road to the *Low-Countries*, and not to *Hoxter*. Thereupon it was resolv'd that the Cities of *Guelthers*, *Zurphen*, *Trise*, *Over-Yssel*, and *Groningen* should be strengthn'd with an addition of 4000. Horse. In a short while after the Bishop sent a Letter, by a Trumpeter, to the States General, wherein he wish'd them all prosperity for the ensuing year, offering to send them some of his men, so soon as the differences between him and the Dukes should be compos'd, in regard that the States had been so kind as to offer their mediation in the quarrel.

In the mean time the King of *France* made great Levies both Horse and Foot. Insomuch that the *Spaniards* were afraid that he would Quarter his Souldiers upon them; but the King of *France* assur'd them of his sincere intentions to the Queen of *Spain*. However the States of the United Provinces knew not what to think. For the King bent his course toward the Conquer'd

quer'd Cities of *Flanders*; in *May* he arriv'd at *Tournay*; and in *June*, he turn'd again toward *France*. At last all the world perceiv'd that he had make all his Warlike preparations against the Dukedom of *Lorrain*; for in a short time he made himself Master of all that Country. Nevertheless he ceas'd not to raise new Forces continually, and at the same time he made ready a certain number of Men of War. He was wonderfully offended at the Prohibition against the importing of Wine and Brandy into the *Low-Countries*, though all the world perceiv'd that he intended little good to the *Dutch*. In opposition to this Placaert, he forbid his own subjects to lade any Strongwater or Brandy in *Dutch* Vessells. He also laid an Imposition of twenty four *Livres Paris*, upon every eight Tuns of Salt Herrings coming from *Holland*, which afterwards he augmented to thirty two *Livers*, and three months after to forty. He laid thirty per cent. upon all sorts of Spices, beside the former Impositions.

In *April* 1671. by the singular diligence of the Mediators, *George William*, and *John Frederick* Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*, the King of *France*, the Arch-Bishops of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, an agreement was concluded between Duke *Radolph Augustus* and the Bishop of *Munster* upon the following conditions. That the Duke of *Lunenburg* should quit *Hoxter* to the Bishop. The Bishop promis'd for his part not to injure the City, nor the privileges belonging

longing to it, by the Antient Constitutions and the Peace of *Munster* and *Osnaburg*; That the Citizens might make their complaints where it was proper; or else to the Bishop himself, who promis'd to hear their complaints by indifferent Judges. In case the Citizens found themselves aggriev'd by the sentence, they might Appeal to another Judg, &c. Thus he promis'd much but did nothing.

It was accorded by this provisional agreement, that the Bishops Garrison, which he should put into this City, should not consist of above sixty or seventy men at most. But the *Lunenburghers* had no sooner quitted the City, but he sent thither above 250 persons, their Wives and Children being comprehended in the number. Which caus'd an immediate grudge, because they were a great charge to the City.

The Citizens cry'd out, that they had capitulated only for a Garrison of sixty or seventy men, and not for their Wive. and Children: whereby they saw that the Bishop sought all the ways he could to ruin a Protestant Town: the Souldiers being allow'd to commit great disorders; beating the Burgeses, and spoyling their goods, whereas the *Lunenburghers* payd to a farthing for what they call'd for.

And now it appear'd every day more and more, that the Bishop was hatching new mischief against the States, which was verily thought, could not be long conceal'd. Prince *Maurice* of

Nassau,

Nassau, being then at the City of *Wesel* wrote to the States, that about 800 of the Bishops Horse were come to Quarter in the Village of *Dingen*, which belonged indeed to the Territory of *Munster*, but was not above a League and a half distant from the City of *Wesel*; and that for that reason he had taken orders for the defence of that City. At the same time news was brought of a Shepherd that had been taken sounding the depth of the Moats about the City of *Wesel*.

In the mean while the Bishop had conven'd the States of *Munster*, who had promis'd him 100000 Crowns, to be paid at four payments by equal Portions in four months. About the same time also several Officers flockt to him, most of which he took into his Service, and gave them Commissions to raise men in his name.

This excessive Levying of men not only disturbed the States General, but also all the Bishops Neighbours: and the report went, that *Cologne* should be first attack'd, our Bishop having an Army of above 32000 men. Besides he had caus'd 600 Chests to be made of Firr Wood, fill'd with the Bullrushes, every Chest six foot square, and to be fasten'd together with Iron Hooks; so that in a little time he could make a Bridg over any River, though never so wide. But while he laboured to inflame his Neighbors Territories with the fire of War, a fire of ano-

ther nature seiz'd upon the City of *Munster* itself, to its considerable damage. This fire began, in *April*, at a certain Covent in the City, which it not only burnt down, but also consum'd to ashes about three hundred sixty Houses more.

In Autumn, the same year, the King of *France* sent a large sum of money into *Germany*, of which the Bishop had his share. And now the States General thought it time to look about them. *England* still stuck upon their skirts; and therefore they resolv'd at length to raise a numerous Army, and fortifie their Strong Holds. But these Resolutions of theirs could not well be put in execution, because they could not agree in the Election of their Captain General. For some of the Provinces stood for the Prince of *Orange*, but others would by no means consent to that Election.

In the Year 1672. the designs of the State began to manifest themselves more clearly. And yet the Bishop of *Munster* who well knew to whom he had sold himself, was so confident as publicly to assure the *Sieur D' Amerongen* of his intentions inviolably to observe the Treaty last concluded between him and the *States*, but however he could not in civility deny a free passage to the Forces of his Allies. For all the while he suffer'd the *French* to croud into his Diocess, pretending fireightness of Quarters, but

but in truth to be near the places upon which they had their first Eye.

At length, in the month of *April*, what had so long time been with so much care and policy concealed from all the world, disclosed it self to the view of all men. The King of *France* had joyn'd with the King of *England*, and both declar'd War against the States General in one day. The King of *England* in his Declaration, gave his reasons that induc'd him to it. But the King of *France* gave none but his own humour and his discontent.

The *Dutch* being thus beset, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* accompany'd with the Bishop of *Strasburgh* takes a journey into *Westphalia* to the Bishop of *Munster*, there to consult the best way to Master the Provinces of *Over-Iffel*, *Guel-ders*, *Utrecht* and consequently *Holland*. Toward the end of *April* 1672. the Bishop rendezvouz'd his Forces; and in *May* he publish'd his Declaration against the States, containing nothing but Accusations, which indeed were no more than suppos'd and false pretences. He accus'd the States for having dealt under hand partly by promises, partly by offers of ready money with the Officers of his Forts and Cities, to have fir'd his Magazines, to have stirr'd up his Subjects to Rebellion, the more easily to make themselves Masters of his Towns and Territories. That they had caus'd several attempts to be made upon his person. That several fires

had happened in his Towns, Signiories and Villages, not without strong presumption that they were done by the States Emissaries. And therefore because such Barbarous actions were detested by the very *Turks* themselves, it behov'd the Bishop to take care as well of his own Person as of his Subjects. For which reason he commanded all his Officers and Governors to have a vigilant eye upon all such kind of persons, and to apprehend them as Spies, *Boutefeus*, and Traytors: and lastly he forbad all manner of Commerce with the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, under penalty of Confiscation.

Thus we see this *Grand Mercenary* (for so he was generally call'd) now in a readiness to invade the Territories of the States, contrary to his Oaths, his Promises and Alliances.

In that month of *May* the King of *France* began to put his designs in Execution. The first day of the month, the Towns of *Rinborch*, and *Orsoy* were invested early in the morning by the King himself, *Wesel* by the Prince of *Conde*, and *Burich*, by Monsieur de *Turenne*. Just at the the same time the Bishop quitted the Country of *Benthem*, and march'd into the Province of *Twent*. He took, without much resistance, the Cities of *Enschede*, *Oldenzeel*, *Otmarsen*, *Almelo*, *Borculo*, *Lochem*, *Deutechem*, and other small places. He also commanded the Forces of the Elector of *Cologne* and besieg'd the City of *Groll*, which was well Fortifi'd, but was surrender'd the ninth of the same month.

What

What relyance is there in those who have only the Title of Ecclesiasticks? When *Charles* the fifth pass'd through *France* and was Nobly Treated by *Francis* the first, notwithstanding their past bloody Wars, the King of *France* was highly applauded, for that he had so inviolably kept his word in reference to the free passage of the Emperor. Upon which he gave this answer, that though there were no such thing as Faith and Truth among men, yet that it was absolutely necessary for Kings and Princes to acquit themselves of their Promises. But we found it otherwise; for upon the 16. of *April* the Arch-Bishop of *Cologne* publish'd a *Placaert* of Neutrality, which nevertheless, in six weeks time he utterly broke by open Acts of Hostility. Yet there was this difference to be observed between the Bishop of *Munster*, and the Elector of *Cologne*. For the Bishop offer'd himself voluntarily to the King of *France*, and sold himself to make War against the States General, but the other was with great difficulty and reluctancy perswaded to break the Neutrality.

After the taking of *Groll*, the Bishop of *Munster* made himself Master of *Brevoort*. From thence he march'd to *Deventer*, in which City they had forbid the Trumpet, that keeps Watch upon the Tower, to sound the Tune of the Song made in praise of the Prince of *Oranges* Great Grand-Father to the present Prince.

They had also forbid the Organist to Play, and the Ministersto Pray for the Prince. They had also deny'd the Pulpit to one of the Ministers, because that in numbering the sins of the people, he had made mention of their ingratitude to the House of *Orange*. The Author of the *Holland Mercury* relates; that the principal Persons of the Province of *Over-Iffel*, because they were much in debt, were frequently wont to say at their Meals; *Come, all will go well enough yet; I hope to make my Fortunes as well under the power of the King of France, as under the present Government*. If this be true, we need not wonder, that by the means of such Rulers, this City and so many others surrender'd so easily and with so little resistance to the Enemy.

The 13. of *June* the Bishop encamp'd before *Deventer*, for the defence of which place there was nothing wanting. The fourteenth he made an attempt to drive off the Cattel which fed round about the City, but was repuls'd. Upon the sixteenth he open'd his Trenches; and had the Townsmen had the sole power in their hands, both *Munster* and *Cologne* would have found work enough to have employ'd them a far longer time; but what ever the reason were, it was surrender'd the twenty first. This put 1250 *Dutch* Burgomasters, already much in debt, to a worse plunge. For first they took away from them all that they had, and then constrain'd them

them to pay for their ranfome 65000 Livres. Those that were in power had broken down the Bridg of *Deventer*, as they pretended, to prevent unnecessary Sallies from being made upon the Enemy, though several gave their advice to the contrary. However it pleas'd the Bishop extreamly, who was heard to say that time, *Now I see that the Traytors have kept their words.* See the *Holland Mercury*, Part 23. p. 81. The same said the Engineers, after the taking of the Town, which was surrender'd after the mid-night of the day before mention'd, without any necessity at all, without any notice given to the Council of War, and without the knowledg or consent of the major part, or as others report, of any one of the Burgomasters. More than that, they very ignobly forgot to make any provision for the Souldiers of the Garrison, so that they all remain'd Prisoners of War.

The twenty second of the same month, the Bishops men sat down before the City of *Zwoll*, wherein they carried their business after such a manner, that the Enemy found no resistance at all. The Author of the *Holland Mercury* gives this accompt of the Action. Part 2. p. 82. Collonel *Unico Ripperda* relates, that coming the 17. of *June*, with his Regiment to *Zwoll*, he found himself to be but an unwelcome Guest, &c. The eighteenth the Command of the Troops of *Over-Iffel* was conferr'd upon the Sieur *W.V. Aylan*, who in the pre-

sence of Collonel *Bampfied*, and other Officers adviz'd the Inhabitants of *Zwoll* to fortifie their City. But they gave little heed to him and less to the Deputies of *Groningen*, who would have had them have stop't the course of the River, call'd the *Black-Water*, so to have drown'd the Country round about. To which purpose they brought mony to carry on the work, but they talkt to people that would have no Ears. The twenty second the Bishops men entrench'd before the Town; at what time a certain Burgomaster of *Deventer*, whose name was *Le Espiere*, with another call'd *Benting de Brokelingcamp* and a Trumpet from the Bishop enter'd the Town; and the said *Le Espiere* made a long Harangue in the Town House. Thither went Collonel *Bampfied* to see how affairs were manag'd, but they lookt upon him with an evil Eye. They had, as it is reported, already in the morning sign'd the agreement to surrender the Town, upon *Deventer* Conditions. To make sure of *Bampfied* they desir'd him to march into the City with his Regiment, which he did. And then he and *Ripperda* went to the Town House, and entring into the Council Chamber, there they saw the Wine and Glasses upon the Table with which they had treated *Le Espiere*, who upon their coming in, went out at another door. The Burgers would have Treated them, but they refus'd it, telling them that it was then no time

to drink, but to defend the Town. *Bampfild* propos'd pulling down the Suburbs and making no agreement with the Enemy, without advising with the Officers of the Garrison. Offering to lose his head if they had not better Articles six weeks hence than then; desiring them not to sell their Liberty and Religion. To which, it is said, that the Burgomaster *Crans* made answer, *What likelihood have we to defend ourselves with 1200 Souldiers and as many Townsmen, when the Town of Deventer, so well Fortifi'd and provided with all things could not hold out six days?* As to the pulling down the Suburbs, they said, they could give no answer without consulting the Counsellors of the Commonalty, whom they would call together to know their Resolutions. The Collonels advised them to do it instantly, and to send for the Captains of the City Trained Bands, but they refus'd it. Then they askt them why they had sent back the Trumpeter? Answer was made, that *Le Espiere* had don it. *Bampfild* askt them if they would send Commissioners to the Bishop? They reply'd, *If we send Commissioners the rest of the Troops will not march toward the City.* What then, said the other, must we be Prisoners of War? The answer was, *They that sign'd the Commission will be exempted.* To which the Collonels reply'd they would neither do that, nor be Prisoners of War neither, and so they return'd to the Trenches, saying that they would make another

another manner of agreement. One of the Magistrates cry'd, If you return, you will lose the benefit of the Capitulation. But *Bampfild* answer'd, it would be better to dye, than make such an agreement. And so both the Collonels the next night left the City and preserved their men. The Magistrates made their advantage of the Collonels retreat, saying, that being abandon'd by the Souldiery they were forc'd to surrender, as they excus'd themselves in their Printed Apology.

Whether sudden consternation or Treachery were the cause of these things is only known to God. But most certain it is, that the Bishop, with little or no hazard, made himself Master of the Cities of *Deventer*, *Zwöl*, *Campen*, *Hasselt*, *Swart-Sluys*, *Blochzyl*, *Steenwich Moppel*, *Fort de Ommen*, and also of *Kuyuder* in the Country of *Frize*.

Thus in a few days he had subdu'd the whole Province of *Over-Iffel* being assisted by the Arch-Bishop of *Cologne*, who shar'd their Conquests after the following manner. *Deventer* fell to the Elector of *Cologne*. The King of *France* was to keep the Cities of *Campen*, and *Elburgh* during the War, which being ended, he was to surrender them to the Bishop of *Munster*, who kept all the rest, except *Zwoll*, which was to be Garrison'd by the *French* as well as by him.

On the other side the King of France had in a few days taken *Doesburgh, Zutphen, Arnheim, Wiick, Montfort, Oudewater, Yselsteine, Amersfoort, Utrecht* and *Woerden* in *Holland*. Some people misinform'd have very much blam'd the City of *Utrecht* for surrendring, but all persons that have any knowledg of affairs, will rather lament than blame them. Their ill-willers falsly reported, that they would not admit the Prince of *Orange* into the City, for it is known that they made it their request to him, and that he had granted their desire. They sent great quantities of Bread, Beer, and Cheese to the Souldiers that quarter'd about the City. They offer'd to receive as many men as he should think necessary for the defence of the City, with whom they would hazard their estates and lives to the uttermost peny and the last drop of blood. But the Prince receiv'd Orders to retreat with the Army into *Holland*. They desir'd him to leave the four Regiments that were paid by them; but he could not spare a man because of the Orders he had receiv'd. All their powder in the Powder-Mills was carry'd away by the Army. The States also, before these things happen'd, had sent a considerable quantity of powder to *Nimighen* and other places; so that they were destitute of necessaries, and abandon'd by the Army, and cut off from the other Provinces. But more than this, a considerable number of the Townsamen were in Garrison at *Nimighen* and

and in the Forts upon the *Yssel*. He that would see more of this, let him read the deduction of the States of *Utrecht*, Printed in the Year 1673.

To this we may add for another reason the great number of the *Roman* Catholicks, who being irreconcilable Enemies to the Reform'd Religion, would have risen and Massacred them, so soon as the King of *France* had appear'd with his Army.

They who will not credit the accompt which we give of things, may read the *Sieur Valkenier* in his *Europe Troubl'd*, page 620. Many *Roman Catholicks*, says he, gave it out publicly in the streets, Let *France* live rather than *Orange*. If *Orange* comes we will shut our doors against him, but we will open them to the *French*, as soon as ever they arrive: being then at *Utrecht*, I often heard them speak these words to my great grief. Let them also read what the same Author writes p. 621. &c. and there they shall see how undeservedly aspersions have been cast upon this City. But to return to the Bishop.

After he had furnish'd the Cities of *Over-Issel* with good Garrisons, and also left a good strong party upon the Frontiers of *Friseland*, he march'd toward *Coverden*. But before we speak of the taking of that City, it behoves us to mention something of the little Town of *Haltem*, not to deprive the couragious of their due praises. Their Ramparts were very weak
and

and defective, being decay'd by time. The Garrison did not consist of above 76 Souldiers, and 180 Burghers, who had earnestly desir'd the Inhabitants of *Zwoll* and other Neighbouring places to send them assistance, but all in vain. Their Ammunition also was very inconsiderable; nevertheless they resolv'd to hold out.

The nineteenth of *June* the Episcoparians shew'd themselves before this Town, and the Bishop sent them his summons, threatening what he would do if they did not forthwith submit themselves. He had very much affrighten'd great Towns by his thundering hard words: but this little place answer'd him very courageously contrary to his expectation, that they would remain faithful to their Country till death. Their deeds were answerable to their words; for they made so stout a resistance, and ply'd their small shot with that vigor, that the Bishops whole Army that lay at *Deventer*, were forc'd to be sent for to lye before this little place. At length being out of all hopes of relief, they were constrain'd against their will to submit and give entrance to the Bishop, who was amaz'd at the small number of the Garrison, knowing that he had lost in the Siege above 700 Souldiers besides a great number of stout Officers.

The Bishop, before he laid Seige to *Coeverden*, was marching toward *Frise*. But upon his
his

III *The Life and Actions of*

his march, he received advice that the States of *Friesland* and *Groningen* had put themselves into a posture of defence, and that they were resolv'd to make use of all the strength they had. Upon that, in a great rage against the *Frisons*, he cry'd out, *The Devil take the Priests*; meaning the Ministers of *Leeuwarden*, in regard they shew'd their Zeal for their Religion and Liberty. For which reason he alter'd his design and march'd to *Coeverden*. He had the good fortune to take in the *Fort du Deel*, the *Old Fort*, the *New Fort*, *Wenschoter*, *Zyl*, *Wedd House*, and all the places round about. In the *Fortress Bourtang* was one Captain *Prat*. The Bishop labour'd to have had the place betray'd to him by the contrivance of his Commissary at War, whose name was *Marfel*; who offer'd the Captain 200000 Livres, or one of the fairest Castles in *Westphalia*, and for the other Captains 50000 Livres a peice.

But the generous Captain desir'd *Marfel* but to bring the Bishop and his followers to confer with him, and he would give him as many Bullets; as he offer'd him Livres. And he behav'd himself so well, that *Marfel* having laid Siege to the place, was forc'd to raise it again in a short time.

In the mean time the Bishops whole Army arrived before *Coeverden*, which was as it were, the Key of the Provinces of *Friesland* and *Groningen*. It was lookt upon formerly as impregnable,

nable, by reason of the Marshes, and Fens that surround it, and which may be easily overflow'd: so that there is no coming near the Town but by three narrow passes, which were guarded by seven Bulwarks by the name of the Seven Provinces, with seven Ravelins, seven half Moons, and besides that an out-Wall, a high Counterescarp, deep double Motes, two Gates and a Castle Fortified with five other Bulwarks, and a deep Moat next the City. This noble Fortress after the Peace with *Spain* was fallen much to decay through neglect, as were many other of the Fortresses belonging to the States; and beside that, it was not over provided with Ammunition.

The 30. of *June*, the place was invested by 1100 *French* Horse, and six thousand Foot, who most unmercifully pillag'd and plunder'd the Inhabitants of the Flat Country, some also they put to torture, and others they murder'd. The seventh the place was summon'd; but the summons was rejected. The tenth it was summon'd again; whereupon the Governour sent out Commissioners and made an agreement. The Enemy being enter'd the Town were amaz'd that they should take so strong and so considerable a Fort in so short a time.

The Commissioners who were sent to capitulate with the Bishop were the Captains *Rosiers*, *Bachman* and *Ter Hoeve*. But here the Bishop, that thought nothing in the world so Sacred,
but

but that he could prophane and sacrifice it to his advantage and ambition, not only violated his word given by *M. General St. Paul*, but also the *Law of Nations*. For he declar'd two of the foremention'd Captains to be Prisoners of War; suffering only the third to return to the Town, to know whether they were inclin'd to surrender or no.

This was not all, for contrary to the Capitulation sign'd with his own hand, he would not permit the Garrison to go to *Harlington*, according to the Articles, but where his fancy thought most convenient. The two pieces of Canon, which they were to take along with them, he would not permit to be stir'd out of the Town. Nor would he suffer the Garrison to march out with Drums beating and Colours flying; and besides all this, several of the Souldiers were plunder'd and constrain'd to take his party. The rest were convey'd to *Over-Iffel* instead of *Harlington*, from whence they march'd to *Almelo*, where the Bishop gave peculiar command to the Inhabitants under pain of Confiscation of their Goods and other Corporal penalties, not to supply the poor weary Souldiers either with meat or drink though they should pay for it.

After the Enemy had taken *Coeverden*, they held a great Council of War, to consult what was next to be done; whether they should march into *Frise*, and besiege the City of *Groningen*

ningen, or whether they should Attack the Forts of *Delf-zyl*: But they were divided in opinion, some believing this, some that to be more expedient. The Bishop would have follow'd their advice who were for the Attacking the place last nam'd, had not *Schulenburg*, and *Broersma*, two Traytors to their party, as most Writers call them, vigorously perswaded him to besiege *Groningen*. While they were upon the debate the Elector of *Cologne* came into the Council, who demanded smiling what they had agreed upon, and perceiving that some were still for Attacking *Delf-zyl*: No, no, said he, *we must go to Groningen, that City will be ours in five days, I have my Confidants there.* But he fail'd in his assurance.

Till this time a favourable Gale had swell'd the Sails of the Bishops hopes. He had undertaken no enterprize wherein he had not prosperously succeeded. No place was so strong or so well fortifi'd but that he made his way through, either through the Cowardice or Treachery of the defendants. His Master to whom he had Mortgag'd himself, had penetrated even to the very Center of *Holland*. So that in forty days the Confederates had taken fourscore Cities, Forts and Fortresses from the States General.

As for the Conquests of the Bishop of *Munster*, he thought himself sure enough of his prey, not believing that the *United Provinces* would

ever reunite again, but that he should enjoy the places he had taken, and which still remain'd to be taken. Now, said he, to one of his Counsellors, *their High and Mightinesses may be call'd their Low and Lowlinesses. Thus the Hereticks are to be dealt with. The King of France is beholden to me, for without my Assistance he never could have Conquer'd so fast nor so much.* At his request, he obtain'd of the Pope the Government and absolute Authority to confer all Ecclesiastical Benefices in the Territories by him Conquer'd. He constrain'd the Gentry of Over-Yssel to subscribe an agreement wherein they abjur'd the Union of the United Provinces in these words, *That they both in General and Particular, being better instructed, do absolutely abjure the Union of the United Provinces, and that they shall undertake for themselves and their Posterity, to be separated from them for ever. And that they do acknowledg the Bishop of Munster for their Lawful Sovereign voluntarily and without any constraints; that they will never revolt from him; but will hazard their lives and fortunes for him and with him as their Lawful Sovereign.* The King of France never impos'd so much upon the Province of *Utrecht*, but on the contrary Capitulated with them, that the said Province should be comprehended in such agreements as he should make with the States General.

But

But the wheel of Fortune, if it be lawful for Christians to make use of the Phrase, began to turn, so that from this time forward the Tide of the Bishops prosperity began to Ebb. It pleas'd God that he follow'd the worst Counsel of them that advis'd to lay Siege to the City of *Groningen*, and to inspire the Inhabitants of that City with courage and resolution, to repel the victorious Bishop, and to force him to rise from before their Walls with loss and shame. After which he never did any thing that brought him either profit or honor, but all his enterprizes prov'd destructive to him.

Groningen then was the place which he design'd to besiege; for by the taking of this City, which they imagin'd would have been an easie matter, they had made themselves Masters of two Provinces, that and *Frisland*. The Place was sufficiently strong, but the Garrison was too weak; not consisting, recruits and all, of above one thousand and two hundred Souldiers. But the valor of the Townsmen and Scholars supply'd that defect, as also the Conduct of the Commanders, among whom the *Sieur Charles Rabenhapt* was the chief. The Burgers were divided into Eighteen Companies, besides Four Companies of them who had been formerly excus'd. The Company of Scholars consisted of a hundred and fifty.

The 19. of July the Country people brought word that the Enemy appear'd on every side of the City. The 20. they shew'd themselves upon *Halpen* side. The same day one of the Porters of the City was executed, being accus'd of Treachery, because he had left open the Haven Gate a whole night together; as also a Country-man of *Olde Ampt* who had corresponded with the Bishop. The eleventh they made their first shot at the City, but the seventeenth they began to play furiously upon it, endamaging several houses: and after Dinner the same day several of the Officers and Townsmen shew'd themselves upon the Ramparts where they made merry and drank several Healths, the great Guns going off and the Drums and Trumpets sounding at the conclusion of every one.

The Eighteenth the Bishop and Arch-Bishop, for the Bishops of *Munster* and *Cologn*, who did not very well agree before, had now joyn'd their Forces, which caus'd some to say that *Herod* and *Pilate* were reconcil'd, follow'd their business very smartly: They shot their *Bombs* into the City which did much mischief; some of them weighing three hundred, some four hundred pound. The Shell was about three or four fingers thick fill'd within with Pitch, Rosin, Salt-peter and Gun-powder. Their weight caus'd them to break through the Roofs and Tilings of Houses, till they met with Combustible

blematter enough to set whole Houses on fire. In the night time they shot great numbers of Granados into the Town, which did very much damage in several parts and quarters of the City. They were stuf with all sorts of Combustible Matter that easily took fire, and they had within them little small things like small guns about a fingers length which discharg'd several Musket-bullets against those that drew near to quench them: They were very terrible at first, as having wounded several people that came too near them; but let them alone till they had spent their Bullets, and they were easily manag'd.

By this time the Bishop wonder'd very much, that the City did not send out Commissioners to Treat of a Surrender, after he had thrown so many Bombs and Fire-Balls among them. But they had too great a love for their Country and their Religion, to think of any such thing. Nay sometimes they pay'd him with his own Coyn, which he had never met with before. Inasmuch that the Souldiers in the Trenches would cry one to another, *They in the City make use of the same Devils that we do.*

The 20. they ply'd the City with their Bombs and Fire-Balls. The first of which did much mischief; but the latter were easily listled.

The 22. both the Bishops summon'd the City, but their answer was both resolute and

118 *The Life and Actions of*

furly. The same day the Enemy made several Attacks upon the *Auverder Zyl*, but were valiantly repuls'd. The number of the slain is uncertain; but they confess'd that those Onsets lost them more men, than all their Conquests had done.

Now though the Citizens beheld the ruin of their Habitations every day, yet were they nothing dismay'd for all that, but as they met one another in the streets their usual questions were, *How is your house? Mine is almost down to the ground. So is mine. But let us pluck up a good heart; this Bishop of Granados shall not have our City for all this.*

The women were no less courageous than their Husbands. They were less troubl'd to behold a Fire ball fall into their houses, than they were before to see a Clown with dirty shoes come into their Dining-Rooms. A certain woman, who had but one house, seeing a *Bomb* bawl through it, began to fill her Apron with some trifles and a Silver Goblet, and retiring into the street, shew'd those that came to help her, the Goblet, saying, *Yet will I give this to his Excellency Ratenhaupt, if he will but keep the City.* Another Bomb entering into the ruins of her House she cry'd to those that were with her, *The beggerly Bishop shall not get in this way I am resolv'd.*

All

All this while the Bishop plagu'd the City with his Bombs, while the belieged ply'd him as warmly with their great and small shot. In some of his Fire-balls which they open'd after they were quench'd, they found a small viol full of a white matter which was believ'd to be rank P yson; an abominable way of making war. The *Episcoparians* also shot powder that made no noise, and they made use of Great Guns pickt and cull'd for the purpose. It happen'd one time among the rest, that the Citizens thought that they had perceiv'd the Enemy preparing for an Assault; whereupon the Scholars, Souldiers and Citizens shew'd themselves upon the Ramparts; the women also prepar'd themselves to carry powder and bullets to their Husbands, and because one among the rest, more timorous than her Companions, talkt of Surrendring the City, they beat her well favour'dly, and sent her home.

The last of *July*, in some of the Bishops great Bombs they found a little plate of Copper, one side whereof was full of Characters which could not be read; from whence it is thought that he expected some Magical Effect: upon which a certain Doctor in a discourse upon the Siege and railing of it made this observation, *That when the Bishop could not take the Town by the assistance of Simon Peter, he endeavour'd to have it by the help of Simon Magus.*

For the *Roman* Catholicks have more than once made use of such abominable superstitions. When the deceas'd Prince of *Orange*, *Frederick Henry* in the Year 1629. had belieg'd the City *Bois le Duc*, after the Surrender of the place, several Papers were found full of barbarous words and Conjurations; and in some places the name of God and several Saints were inserted. It is thought that the Priests had sold or given them to the Souldiers and Townsmen to preserve them from the Swords and Bullets of their Heretick Enemies.

But all his Episcopal Magick did him no good: nay the more to fret him, the Scholars who guarded the Out-wall, and behav'd themselves very bravely, had invented several nick-names for the Bishop, by some of which he heard himself call'd, when he came into the Trenches, and bitterly storm'd at his new Titles; his Officers also laid the affronts of their Captain to heart, and vow'd to be reveng'd when once they got into the City, The 15. of *August*, the besiegers shooting continually into the Town a Canon Bullet almost graz'd upon a Hoggs back, but did the creature no other harm, than only singe the Bristles; whereupon the Scholars cry'd out from the Out-wall in the night to the besiegers, that the Bishop began to shear his Hoggs now he had fleec'd his Sheep.

The day before the Bishop had sent a Trumpeter to the Town, requiring first that they would let him ransom certain Officers which had been taken Prisoners in a Salley, or that otherwise they would use them kindly. Secondly that they would send some sweet meats for his mony, to Treat certain Ladies of the County of *Hessen* that were come to the Camp. As to the first demand answer was made that it was not the custom to release Prisoners of Importance, when the Enemy was before their Walls, and as for their usage they were sure, they had better than any the Bishop allow'd: and for his second request, they reply'd, that being taken up with Powder and Bullet, they minded little of their Shops at present.

Soon after the Bishop perceiv'd that his Enterprize upon this place would not have the same success as he had had in other places. The Elector of *Cologne*, though he had adviz'd the Siege, began to look upon his Colleague with an evil Eye; and they began to quarrel already about the expence of the Siege and the wast of their Countries. *Cologne* upbraided *Munster* with his boasts he made of his Souldiers, his Artificial Fires, and his Miners, and yet that after the Moat of the Curtain was fill'd up with Fagots, he durst not venture the Onset; for fear of losing his men.

In the mean while the Young Prince of Nassau had written a letter in French from the Camp before Groningen dated the 20. of August. N.S. and directed to the Duke of Luxemburgh, to this purpose.

The Face of the Affairs of our Camp changes every day. Wednesday morning last our Canon plaid so fortunately, that we ruin'd five Batteries and silenc'd all the rest. Which gave us some hopes, by reason of the Consternation which we observ'd in the City; and for that a certain Monk who had escap'd out of the City, reported to us, that the Catholick Burgers would desire to be excepted from Plunder, if we took the City by Assault.

M. de Muntier is confident that he shall say Mass in the City upon St. Lewis's day, But my Faith is too weak to believe those miracles, and I very much doubt our entry into the City till his Prayers have silenc'd Eighty pieces of Canon that continually play upon us, and have ruin'd his Strongest Battery of seven pieces, notwithstanding all that we can do, because the Traverses of our Battery are so narrow that we can play but upon one side.

The 17. A Forlorn of Gentlemen sally'd out of the Town and found that the Enemy had quitted their Approaches. Upon news whereof several of the besieg'd went forth and found in the Enemies Trenches great store of Warlike Ammunition as Bombs, Fire-balls, Granados, Bullets, Hatchets, Shovels and the like,

like, of which every one took as much as they could carry away. Their Retreat was very sudden, and the Infantry were in such a fright, that the Horse were commanded to secure them from flying. All this while the Bishop lay behind the Gallows Hill; but the 21. he fully and wholly quitted the place, which caus'd a Universal joy among the Inhabitants of the Town.

This Bishop dislodg'd his Army for two principal reasons. The first was, for that his great Guns were no longer serviceable, and his Morter-pieces were most of them spoil'd. The second was because his Army was half in half wasted.

As to the first reason, his Artillery was almost all spoil'd and broken, so that he had not above ten or twelve Guns left, by reason of his continual firing upon the Town. As for his Morter-pieces, he had not above five or six left; For the Bishop impatient of the Protraction of of the Siege, order'd them to be double charg'd, so that some of his Morter-peices broke, and others were greatly indammag'd.

As to the second cause, it could never be certainly known what number of men he brought to the Siege; but tis thought that they amounted to between twenty and thirty thousand; and he did not march off with above thirteen thousand. This was afterwards confirm'd by a Muster made by the Bishops Officers: by which it appear'd, that his Army when they first came
before

before *Groningen* consisted of above twenty four thousand men, but that he carry'd off no more than twelve thousand nine hundred sixty eight. So that he had lost eleven thousand two hundred thirty two.

To these two reasons that oblig'd the Bishop to quit the Siege, may be added three more.

1. The coming of the Auxiliary Forces of the Emperor and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.
2. The want of Ammunition and Victuals.
3. The Rain that fell at that time whereby his Approaches were quite overflow'd with water.

However it were, the City was at liberty, and the Bishop was no more in a condition to make any farther attempt.

We cannot here pass over in silence the most barbarous cruelty that was ever exercis'd upon poor sick and wounded men, who were carry'd to *Helpen* into a Barn, where they lay without straw, being lookt after by six *French* Chirurgeions. The Bishop perceiving that their number every day increas'd, askt the Chirurgeons which they thought to be curable and which not; and those that were judg'd incurable were presently dispatch'd with a Bullet shot into their heads to make room for others.

The besieg'd had not lost above fourscore persons, notwithstanding that vast number of Bombs, Stinking-Pots, and Fire-Balls which were thrown into the City, the number of which was said to have amounted to above four thousand:

thousand : for as for the Canon-shot it was not to be counted. And indeed the effects of Divine Providence were most apparently to be seen, in reference to some persons, considering the prodigious deliverance from eminent danger.

A Fire-ball, meeting with the Wall of a House, was beaten back, and falling pass'd between a *Mennonites* Breeches below the Cod-piece, without doing him any other harm than only singeing his Breeches.

One of the Sheriffs of the Town, whose name was *Botbenius*, being just risen out of his Bed, a Fire-ball presently came and falling in his place burnt the Coverlet, Mat, Bedstead and all.

The Widow of *Anthony Van Essen* being in Bed with her Daughter, a Fire-ball pass'd between them, and being resisted by the Beds head, return'd the same way, without doing any more hurt than burning the Bed.

A woman sitting upon a bench before her own house, a Fire-ball flew between her legs, and carry'd away a piece of her Coats both before and behind without any farther mischief.

The same thing happen'd to one of the *Proposers*, who sitting in his Study ; a Fire-ball came and carry'd away the Seat from under him without any farther damage.

A Servant of *James Warnholts* a Brewer was just drinking, but before he had ended his draught, a Fire-ball came and struck the Glass out of his hand without any other prejudice.

Another Bomb lighted into the Chamber of a certain person, who not liking his Bedfellow, took it and flung it to the ground where it broke, and spoild all his goods, but did the man no harm.

A woman being a sleep in her Bed, by break of day was awakn'd by a Bomb that fell through the Cieling just before her Bed. The woman ran out into the street in her smock, and seeing her house a fire, cry'd out, *Though my house be burnt, the Bishop shall not have the City.*

Another woman having a little child in her Arms, perceiving a Bomb to be fallen into her House, all in a fright, threw her infant into the Cistern; when the Bomb was broken and quite out, she found that her Neighbours had rescu'd the Child out of the Cistern, from whom she took it again sound and safe.

But to return to the Bishop. The *Frizoni* laying hold of the opportunity, made an attempt with the assistance of the Men of War that guarded the *Zuyder Zee*, upon the Fort of *Block Zyl*, seated upon the laid *Zuyder Zee*, between *Wallenboven*, *Kuynder* and *Steenwick*, where are two sluices that give free passage to the
over-

overflowings of *Over-Iffel* and *Tuent* into the *Zuyder Zee* in *Holland*. This place was the first that was recover'd by the assistance of the *Burgers*, who kept private correspondence with some of the *Frizon* Souldiers. The Commander for the Bishop mistrusting them, would have forc'd them to take an Oath of Fidelity to his Master, which they refus'd to do. Thereupon he threatned them hard; but they reply'd, They would suffer the utmost severity, before they would take the Oath which he exacted from them. Although the *Frizons* landed to the number of four hundred and fifty. The Commander made a Sally upon them, was rudely repuls'd; and he would have reenter'd the Fort, the *Burgers* fir'd upon the *Episcoparians*, kill'd the Commander and open'd the Gate to the *Frizons*; and so the Fortress was reduc'd under the obedience of the States.

At the same time a certain *Mennonite* put a fair cheat upon the *Episcoparians*; For in regard he liv'd near the South-gate, when he saw the terrified Souldiers thronging out of the City, he offer'd some of them his house to secure themselves; which offer of his was kindly accepted by sixty or seventy of them, among which were two Lieutenants and a Priest, whom he afterwards deliver'd up all together as Prisoners of War.

Soon after the Fortress of *Kuynder* also fell into the hands of the *Frizons*: from which time
the

the Bishop prov'd very unfortunate, for he got nothing, but lost a great deal.

In the *Old Ampter-Mieden* the Episcoparians committed several Insolencies and Rapines : and it was fear'd that they would have fir'd the Dams of *Munterdam*, *Veendam*, and *Wilvank*, which would have occasion'd very much mischief the Winter ensuing : for prevention whereof several Souldiers were sent to *Mieden*. The Country-men glad to be so guarded were so liberal to the Souldiers that they got drunk, at what time being surpriz'd by the *Munsterians*, and not being able to rally themselves into a posture of defence, they were forc'd to fly for their lives. The Country-men however made a stout resistance for some time, but being over-power'd, they were all defeated and kill'd, except some few that sav'd themselves in the Marshes.

After that came several Troops of Horse and Foot under the Command of *St. German*, Colonel of the *Holland* Regiment, which got into the City of *Groningen* during the Siege. With these Forces he marcht toward *Winschoten*, having a sight of several parties of the *Munsterians*, by the way, who retreated upon their approach. and quitted not only *Winschoten*, but also the small Fort of *Winschoter-Zyl*, *Wedde-House*, &c. and shelter'd themselves under the *Old-Fort*, and new *Fort*, where they thought themselves safe. And indeed it seem'd a thing
impol-

impossible by force to Attack those two Forts, in regard all the Country round was overflow'd. However Collonel St. *Jerman* sent some of his men to the places next adjoining to the Old Fort, otherwise call'd *Bellingwolterskans*, to block it up at a distance. At the beginning little good was to be done, besides that the Collonel was commanded back into *Holland*. Thereupon his Excellency *Rabenhaupt* took the business in hand, ordering Collonel *Eybergen* upon the same Enterpize, who being strengthen'd with a Reinforcement, laid Siege to the place. About a thousand and four hundred Episcoparians came out of *Westphalia* passing through *New-Fort*, to relieve the *Old*; but they were ruggedly repuls'd by two hundred and fifty Souldiers under the Command of Major *Neylers*, a brave and experienc'd Souldier, who had so advantagiously posted his men, that the Episcoparians having made a second attempt retreated to the *New-Fort* with the loss of eight hundred men slain, after which the *Old-Fort* Surrender'd: Of four hundred Souldiers that quitted the place, not above a hundred arriv'd at *Coeverden*, the rest deserting their Colours.

After the *Old-Fort* was taken, the *New-Fort* was blockt up; and upon the arrival of the Auxiliaries of *Curland*, the Episcoparians quitted *Dyler-Fort* upon the 16. of November. For the preservation of which place the Fort of
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Bourtang sent a hundred and twenty Musketeers under the Command of Captain *Aitzema*, who was a very young man, and wrote to the States of *Groningen*, that if the *Episcoparians* made any Attack upon him, they should find that place guarded by a courage not ordinary. But when the *Munsterians* shew'd themselves near the Fort with three thousand men, the Captain quitted his *Hold*, without so much as looking the Enemy in the Face, who presently repossess'd themselves of *Dyler-Fort*, and from hence reliev'd the *New-Fort*, insomuch that the *Dutch* were forc'd to raise the Siege, the season being pass'd.

About the same time, two hundred *Curlanders*, having march'd too far into *Westphalia* to Plunder, were totally defeated, though the *Episcoparians* bought their Victory with the loss of more men on theirs, than on the other side.

And now the time was come that *Westphalia*, sufficiently plagu'd and oppress'd by its own Bishop, must also tast the bitterness of a Foreign Enemy. For the Elector of *Brandenburg* having declar'd War against the Bishops of *Munster* and *Cologne*, and the rest of the Neighbouring Confederates, his Souldiers began to overrun the Country, Plundering wherever they came, and putting the Inhabitants under Contribution. They also took some Waggons laden with Cloth, Money, Provision and Ammunition.

There-

Thereupon the Bishop gathers his Forces together, withdraws his men out of his new Conquests, and falls into the Countries of *Bergue* and *La Marche*, doing great mischief. He also took *Lunen*, the City of *Unna*, and the Castle of *Beda*. Nevertheless he was soon after forc'd to quit *Unna*, upon the approach of the *Brandenburgh* Troops; and presently after that, all the rest of the Country.

The King of *France*, finding that the Bishop thriv'd so ill in the Province of *Groningen*, was somewhat jealous lest he should change his side according to his usual Custom, and therefore to oblige him to be Faithful; he promis'd him the Abby of *St. Germans de Esperees*, so that he kept firm to his Interests.

In the mean while the Bishops Garrisons of *Steenwick* and *Coeverden*, committed several extortions and disorders in the *Drenthe* which those of *Groningen* were not able to prevent; For though they sought every where to meet with them, they could never light upon them; in regard the Episcoparians being still advertiz'd by their Spies, retreated in time to their Forts. Nor was there any way to remedy these mischiefs, so long as the Cities of *Steenwick* and *Coeverden* were in the hands of the Bishop.

Of the Fortifications of *Coeverden* we have already spoken, the strength whereof was such, that in the Year 1594. *Verdugo* the Spanish General

neral lay before it one and thirty weeks, and at length was forc'd to raise his Siege. But no sooner had the Bishop taken it by Treachery in four days, but he brought his Magazines thither, and from thence perpetually infested the Frontiers of *Friseland*, *Groningen*, and *Drentht*. And for the better preserving a Garrison so Commodious, and of so great importance he not only repair'd the Old Fortifications but made an addition of New Works, to strengthen the former, yet notwithstanding all this care and foresight, necessity compell'd the *Dutch* to seek to regain it.

This being resolv'd, luckily for them it fell out, that *Maynard de Thynen* a good Ingeneer, and formerly Church-Warden of the Town, gave a hint to his Excellency *Rabenhaupt*, that the Town might be surpriz'd; in regard the Bishops Garrison was very much wasted by sickness, and that they who were well, confiding in the strength of the Fortifications, kept but very slender Watches. Besides that he gave him a plat-form of the place, and of all the Fortifications, shewing him where he might get over the Marshes when they were Frozen. His Excellency approving the proposal, the 16. of *December* 1672. caus'd all the Gates of the City of *Groningen* to be shut at three of the Clock after Dinner, he sent Orders for such and such parties to meet at a place appointed. He chose out of every Company in the City thirty six
men,

men, giving the Command of the whole party to Lieutenant Collonel *Eybergben*, an experienc'd Officer. The foot were Commanded by Major *Wylers*, the Horse by the Valiant Major *John Sickinga*. All the night they spent in loading Waggon with Bridges made of Rushes, Ice-Spurrs, and all other things requisite for an Onset.

The 17. about One of the Clock the Cavalry marcht out at *Steenwick Gate*, and three hours after the Foot follow'd out at *Steenbil Gate*, to the number of nine hundred sixty eight, among which were several Volunteers of the Gentry, Burgeffes and Scholars. Advancing near the Gallows Mount, he observ'd a Trumpeter coming out of the Town of *Helpen*, who seeing such a Force, immediately gallop'd back taking the Road to *Halrem*. But Major *Sickinga* being well mounted follow'd him, took him and sent him away to *Groningen*. This was one of the Bishops Trumpetters, or as others say, belonging to the Prince of *Fustenburgh*, who was in the Bishop of *Cologns* service, who was carrying Letter to the Council of the said City. The Cavalry march'd toward *Gieten* there to stay in expectation of the Infantry. From *Gieten* they marcht to *Exfield*, *Emmen*, *Sleen*, *Erren*, *Wachlen*, and *Dalen*, taking all the care imaginable to prevent being discover'd, and yet three Dragoons made a shift to slip away and give the Enemy notice of the whole design,

which piece of Treachery was enough to have spoil'd all; but Providence was pleas'd to order it otherwise. For after that the Garrison kept a constant watch day and and night, and were continually in Arms, which hard duty so ty'd the Souldiers at length, that when the Assault was given they were most of them asleep, thinking it had been but a false Alarum.

Upon the 19. the word and signal of Attack being given; every Souldier having a wisp of Straw in his Hat, Collonel Eybergben Commanded six hundred men to march directly toward *Tellinckhuysen* and from thence to *Poppenbaer*, carrying with them twelve pieces to make a Bridg of Bullrushes and so to possess themselves of the *Counterscarp* with as little noise as might be, and break down the *Pallisados*. Eybergben himself with three hundred Souldiers undertook the Castle, a hundred and fifty of others were to assail the *Guelders* Bulwark, and another hundred and fifty to force the Guard in the Citadel before the Gate of the Castle. Major *Woliers* with three hundred men was to undertake the *Holland* Bulwark, and another Captain to force the Guard of that Bulwark. Two hundred more were to assail the *Holland* and *Zealand* Bulwarks, fifty to seize upon *Benthem* Gate; Major *Sickinga* was order'd to attack the Bulwark of *Over-Yffel*, and take care of the management of the business in that quarter.

Which

Which Orders being thus given, and a Council of War call'd between Eleven and Twelve a Clock at night, about three a Clock in the Morning they got close to the works. *Eybergben* and *Wylers*, though good Souldiers found the execution of the Enterprize very difficult; but *Tbynen*, the Engineer, hearten'd them on, and marcht formost to shew them the way. By and by they heard the Sentinels calling, *Who is there?* *Tbynen* made no answer, which made them redouble the *Who is there*, with a thousand *Westphalia* Oaths. At length the Onset began; and they that marcht first got upon the Counterscarp, beyond the first Moat to the very Pallisadoes. The Enemy fir'd very furiously, but the *Dutch* advancing couragiously, cut down the Pallisadoes and open'd a passage for themselves, and so *Eybergben* and *Wylers* mounted the Rampart, and at length made themselves Masters of the Castle, *John Moor* who Commanded it, being kill'd at the beginning of the Onset with a Musket shot. Major *Sickinga* acquitted himself with no less Valour on the other side, and having won the Counterscarp, and got over the Pallisadoes and Moat to the top of the Rampart, forc'd the Enemy to throw down their Arms and cry Quarter.

Captain *Clingb* also by this time forc'd the Guard of *Friseland* Gate, which got open by the assistance of one of the Burgessees, and so made way for the Cavalry. A party of the E-

nemy made a stout resistance for a good while in the Market place, but finding themselves over-power'd, threw down their Arms, and surrendering themselves Prisoners of War, were shut up in the Church. The Town thus won, the Victors fell to Plundering and found good store of booty. It is observable that some of the Townsmen, overjoy'd to see themselves freed from the Tyranny of an insulting Enemy, abandon'd their own houses to the Souldiers. Many of the Enemies had their Pockets full of mony, their Coats Embroider'd, and the Hilt of their Swords of massie Silver.

The Enterprize being thus prosperously accomplish'd, the Officers soberly considering the strength of the place, could not choole but look upon one another with astonishment, crying one to another, *How could this possibly be? behold the hand of God.* When the news of this success arriv'd at *Groningen*, the joy of the Inhabitants was not to be express'd. The next day was solemniz'd with a publick Thanksgiving in all the Churches. The Courier that was sent with the News to the States was laden with Letters; and yet all the way upon the Road he was lookt upon as a Reporter of falsities. At *Leeuwarden* he was almost crouded to death by the throng of the people: and at *Amsterdam* it was lookt upon as a thing impossible and therefore incredible. A certain Person of Quality in his answer to a Letter which gave an account of the

the News from *Groningen* wrote these words, *I am resolv'd never to give my money for a Letter that contains such untruths. We have false reports enow in Holland, we have no occasion of having them sent from Groningen.* The Catholics laugh'd at the stories of the *beggarly Hereticks*, as they call'd us; but when they found the news to be true, we could perceive that they were nothing pleas'd with it.

It is remarkable that whatever was thought would have prov'd an obstruction of the design was that which chiefly promoted it. The Forces arriv'd later than they were order'd: But that made the Enemy believe that the Dragoons had abus'd them. The Onset should have been given at midnight, which was delay'd till three of the Clock in the morning. But thereby it happen'd, that the Souldiers tyr'd with watching were gon to sleep. There fell a great mist, so that *Thynen* who was their guide lost his way. But that conceal'd them from the view of the Enemy, so that they were not perceiv'd, till it was too late. So that through the continual noise of the Sentinels crying, *Who goes there*, and the others answering the *Round*, the Assaultants had the opportunity to cut the Pallisades without being heard.

Now as the retaking of this Town inspir'd a Universal joy and courage into the dishearten'd people of the *Low-Countries*, so it bred a general consternation in the other party.

The

The Garrisons of *Nyenbux* and several other places in the County of *Benthem* and the Province of *Tuent* quitted their Ports. In *Zmoll*, *Deventer* and other Towns of *Over-Iffel* they were in a panick dread. So that had a small Army appear'd, those places might have been easily retaken.

But when the news of this loss came to the Bishop of *Munster*, he was all in a fume against the person that brought it; as if he had gone about to make him believe false reports and impossibilities. But when after a serious examination of the circumstances he found the thing to be real, his thoughts were in a strange confusion; *I fear me*, said he, *I shall suddenly lose all that I have got, since I have lost my little Candy*. His rage and discontent was such, that he lookt with a surly Countenance upon all that came near him for some days afterwards, and curs'd in the Devils name more than once. He call'd the Officers of the Garrison *Dogs*, *Rogues* and *Traytors*, and those of *Groningen*, *damn'd Hereticks*: nay he could not refrain from lamenting his loss with Tears. About a hundred and fifty of his men were slain outright, and four hundred taken Prisoners, with six Captains, eleven Lieutenants, fourteen Ensigns, and three Church-men. In his Magazine were found sixty one great Guns, Brass and Iron, twenty four Morter-peices, thirty Petards, nine hundred forty nine Muskets, seven hundred

dred and eighteen Pikes, five hundred and six Barrels of Gun-powdr, one thousand two hundred seventy and seven Bombs ready made up, one thousand seven hundred and sixty not finish'd, two thousand one hundred and thirteen Stinking Pots, one thousand seven hundred seventy and two Granadoes, and twelve thousand eight hundred fifty and two Canon Bullets, great store of Sulphur, Saltpeter, Rosin, Oyl, Turpentine and Pitch; besides Cordage, Carriages, Waggon, Hatchets, Saws, Spades, and the like.

But now the Emperor seeing that the Tempest which had pour'd it self upon the *Low Countries* would not end there, but that it threaten'd also the Air of *Germany*, thought himself oblig'd to provide against it in time, and to prevent *Holland* from being ruin'd. Thereupon both he and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* sent several Auxiliary Troops to assist the States to support them in their Wars, as also to divert the War from their Frontiers; thereby to preserve the Empire, which the *French* already had attackt at the same time that they endeavour'd to lull it asleep, by pretending nothing but *Neutrality, Propagation of the Catholick Faith, Extermination of Heresie, and observation of the Old Treaties*. He was much displeas'd to see that so many Princes of the Empire had engag'd in the Interests of *France*, especially the Bishop of *Munster* whose humour he well knew. He understood

derstood that for many he was become the slave of *France*. That upon the first opportunity his Imperial Majesty, and the Empire should find the Effects of his ill nature. That by his example, and at his instigations, so many Princes of the Empire had taken part with the *French*; and that perhaps many more would follow the same president. Thereupon he caus'd the Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Cologne*, as also the Bishop to be solemnly summon'd, and the question to be demanded of them, in case of a War between the Empire and *France*, to which side they would adhere? threatening to ruin their Countries if they did not resolve within fifteen days. But the Bishop of *Munster* laugh'd at the Emperor his Masters summons, and at all his menaces and threats.

Thereupon the Duke of *Burnonville* in the month of *February* 1673. by order of his Imperial Majesty, caus'd a Proclamation to be fix'd upon the Posts, commanding all Officers and Souldiers who were Subjects of the Empire and in the service of the Bishops of *Munster* and *Cologne* to quit the service of those Princes and to repair to the Colours of his Imperial Majesty upon pain of his high displeasure, &c. Here the Bishop of *Munster* shew'd not only a particular disobedience, but also an extraordinary Pride, accompany'd with a cautious arrogance, and his wonted wiles. For he publish'd a *Counter Proclamation*, wherein he declar'd that the

Pro-

Proclamation that went under the Emperors name was none of his, but only a Stratagem of the Duke of *Burnonvilles*. That his Soldiers were *Imperialists* and in the service of the Empire; and at length he promis'd to save them harmless from breach of that Command.

He thought himself upon sure grounds: For now *Turenne* having joyn'd his Forces with those of the Bishops of *Munster* and *Cologne*, bent his march toward the City of *Ham*, which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* had enforc'd with a Garrison of two thousand men, but they not finding themselves sufficient to resist so great an Army, quitted the place of themselves. There the *French* stopp'd; but the *Episcoparians* advanc'd farther; as far as the City of *Weser*, demanding contribution wherever they came.

At the same time certain *Frisans* and *Groningers* making up a party together, took possession of the houses of *Schuylenburgh* and *Rechteren*, both seated upon a little River that runs to *Zwoll*, not far from the Fort *de Ommen*. These are two old Castles surrounded with thick Walls and deep Moats; by the seizing of which they very much disturb'd the *Episcoparians*, having thereby the opportunity to keep them in continual Alarms.

Much about this time also there was great talk of a design which the son of one *Keete*, a Cap-

Captain of Horse, and Secretary for the County of *Harragh*, had against the Bishop of *Munster*, which was to betray both him and the City of *Munster* into the hands of the Emperor: but in the end it prov'd but a bare report. Nevertheless, the *French*, taking an occasion from them, plaid the Marquis of *Grana*, the Emperors Resident at *Cologn* but a scurvy trick, sending him a counterfeit Letter, Seal'd with the Seal of the Baron of *Schwerin*; the contents whereof were, that the City of *Munster* was taken by the Elector of *Brandenburghs* Souldiers. Now the Baron was the said Electors chief Minister of State, from whom this Letter was so contriv'd as to relate all the Circumstances of taking the Town; he that brought it also alledging himself to be an expresse Messenger; so that the Marquis of *Grana* never dreamt of any device put upon him, but immediately sent away the News to all the Courts of his Masters Allies, and it was joyful news at first, till the Cheat came to be discover'd.

In the mean while the *Friselanders* and *Groningers* shew'd themselves very vigilant, and did the Episcoparians much mischief.

The Garrison of *Coeverden* intercepted a Convoy coming from *Zwoll*, laden with provisions to the Fort of *Ommen*, which they made bold to carry to their own Garrison and there to share the booties, which were not all the Bishops losses at that time. For the Fort of *Bourlang*
met

met with a party of his men and kill'd above two hundred upon the place; and which was worse the Elector of *Brandenburghs* men, had met with two of his Regiments near *Minden*, which they so absolutely defeated that very few escap'd their hands, which was the loss also of the City of *Hoxter*.

On the other side the Episcoparians took the City of *Hervoort*, leaving therein eight hundred Souldiers who tormented the people after a most inhuman manner. The same outrages they also committed in the Province of *Minden*, but they durst not meddle with the City. But these were small refreshings to the Bishops; his heart mourn'd still for *Coeverden*, and therefore he endeavour'd by all ways to make himself Master of that City once more; to which purpose he try'd all the tricks of underhand dealing but all in vain. These failing he had some design of Force; and therefore to make the ways passable for his Souldiers, he caus'd the Country-men under his jurisdiction to provide a great number of Hurdles twelve foot long and six foot broad, made of Spars bound together with O-fiers, to lay where the Ways were deep and otherwise impassable; by means whereof he caus'd a strong party of his men to march to *Gransberghen*, a house about two Leagues from *Coeverden*, and guarded by a Lieutenant and fifty six Souldiers, who bravely twice repuls'd the Enemy, but being over-power'd surrender'd upon

upon Articles, contrary to which, and Faith given, they were made Prisoners of War. Relief was sent by the Garrison of *Coeverden*, but it came too late for their own, but too soon for the Bishops men; For the *Dutch* having laid an Ambush in the way by which the Enemy was to retreat, they made a great Massacre of the Episcoparians, and brought away their Prisoners.

It was an ill time to vex the Bishop after all these miscarriages, as one of his Quarter-Masters found by woful experience, who coming to ask the Bishop for money, put him into such a fury, that he commanded the Officer to be shot to death, which was executed accordingly. An action which alienated from him, very much, the hearts of his Souldiers insomuch that three whole Companies with their Officers quitted his service, and marcht to *Groningen*.

But his Excellency *Rabenhaupt* found himself other work to do than to murder his own Souldiers. He had already for some time kept the New Fort blockt up at a distance. But now taking along with him the Cavalry of *Groningen*, and a good party of Foot out of *Block-Zyll* and other places, together with six pieces of Canon, and having forc'd the Fort *Aux Feres*, to make his way through, he laid close Siege to the Place. The Bishop well knowing the importance of the Fortress prepar'd with all diligence to relieve it. And first he sent Colonel *Meynershagen* with a thousand Dragoons and Foot,

Foot, to get into the Fort, but they were beaten off. After that he endeavour'd with a small Army of five thousand men under the Command of the Count of *St. Paul*, not only to have reliev'd, but also to reinforce the Garrison. He furiously assail'd Collonel *Aquila's* Quarter, but he was so warmly receiv'd, that he was forc'd to retreat in the night after a considerable loss. The next day he renew'd his Attack, but with the same success, leaving four hundred of his men behind him, slain and taken Prisoners. Among the slain were Collonel *Wedel* and *Calckar*, Majors *Swante* and *Kesse*. Eighteen Captains and two Lieutenant Collonels. Soon after the Victors, having taken the Redoubt which lay above the Dike of *Stoesterborn*, gain'd the Fort, where he found good store of rich Pillage both in Gold and Silver, and took the Commander, two Lieutenant Collonels, five Captains, and four hundred Souldiers Prisoners.

The richness of the Plunder shew'd that Country was not very kindly dealt with; but among all the Bishops Impositions, he had one that was particular, which he only levy'd upon those of the Reformed Religion. They that made profession thereof in the City of *Ottmarsum*, were to pay a thousand Crowns, in the City of *Goor* a thousand six hundred Crowns, and so proportionably in other Towns and Cities; and besides this he took from them the use of their Churches. The King of *France* nor

his Governour the Duke of *Luxemburgh* were never so severe to the Inhabitants of *Utrecht*, though they were rigorous enough. Their Impositions were grievous, yet they were equally lay'd as well upon the Catholicks as upon those of the Protestant Religion, the Ecclesiasticks not being exempted : One of the most eminent of that order went to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, requesting him to spare the Catholicks, and to burthen only the Hereticks, as well in their Contributions and Quartering of Souldiers ; but he gave them a refusal in these words ; As ye live, eat and drink together, so ye must pay your Taxes every one a like. Upon the same errand also the new Bishop of *Utrecht* went to the King, but he found never the better reception. Nay some observ'd, that the *Roman* Catholicks were rather favour'd, than those of the *Roman Religion*, which caus'd some of them to say, our Master seems to be a thrice Christian Devil rather than a thrice Christian King.

It was now toward the Latter end of the Summer, when the Bishop thinking he had been too idle all the year before, he randevouz'd his Forces between *Hasselt* and *Smoll* to the number of seven thousand Horse and seventy Colours of Foot, which joyn'd with the Episcoparians at *Roveen*, immediately they took their march toward *Steenwich*, wasting all the Country of *Drenke* as they went ; which inforc'd the Garrison of *Groningen* to send forth nine Troops
of

of Horse, and two of Dragoons, for the security of the said Province. In the mean time the Enemy was advanc'd as far as *Seboten*, with a design to make themselves Masters of the *Heeren Veen*, and so to break that way into *Friseland*. Upon which the States of *Friseland* Muster'd together a little Army of about eight thousand Foot, and a hundred Cornets of Horse, and sent them toward the *Heeren-Veen* to oppose the Episcoparians who finding such provision made against them, and that they could not force their passage, retreated, and marcht with all their forces toward *Steenwick*. There the *Munsterians* and the *French* parted; the latter retiring into their Winter-Quarters at *Zusphen*, *Arnheim*, *Doesburgh* and other places, having lost in all eight hundred men in this march.

Certain it is that the Bishop promis'd himself great matters, could he have made his intended IncurSION into *Friseland*; for the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, being now enter'd into an Alliance with *France*, he had nothing to fear from that side of the world; though by the care and diligence of the *Friselanders*, he made no other advantage of it than the loss of eight hundred men already mention'd.

The Emperor all this while observing the Alliances made with the King of *France* by his own subjects and members of the Empire to the common prejudice, thought it now but time to send a considerable force toward the *Rhine*; and

for the satisfaction of the world publish'd his reasons for so doing, which consisted of these heads. First, for that the King of *France* had marcht his Forces through the Territories of the Empire to Assail the *Low Countries*, and taken many places in the same Territories contrary to the Peace of *Munster*. Secondly, Because the said Souldiers still quarter'd upon the subjects of the Empire at their own pleasure committed several Extortions and Rapines upon them, and particularly had burnt the Bridg of *Strasburgh*. Thirdly, Because the *French* had made themselves Masters of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Treves*, where they did nothing but burn, plunder and spil. Fourthly, Because the Elector of *Cologne* and the Bishop of *Munster*, contrary to the Peace concluded at *Cleves* in the year 1666. had undertaken an Offensive War against the States of the United Provinces, with the consent of the Emperorr and Empire, and rejecting the Emperors commands to the contrary.

During these Paper Skirmishes, the *French* were got into the heart of the United Provinces, though soon after the face of their success began to change. The Inundations in *Holland*, had put a stop to their Conquests there. The Bishop of *Munster* had been repuls'd in the Provinces of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, insomuch that he despair'd of doing any good in those parts; though he did all he could to regain *Corverden*. To which purpose all the Summer

long

his being he had very much distress'd the said Garrison by stoping the course of the River *Veche*, so that it was fear'd the place would have been forc'd to yield for want of water. The Dam that carry'd off the water was wonderfully strong, two Leagues and a half in length, and three or four Foot broad at the Bottom, and eight at the top. Besides the Episcoparians had built two Forts to Guard it, and planted above sixty pieces of Ordnance upon the Dam, to prevent any coming near it. So that when the Bishop understood how high the water was risen, *Now*, said he to some of his Officers, *the Devil cannot binder me from taking Coeverden.* But upon the first of *October* arose such a terrible storm as destroy'd all the Labour and Travel of the Episcoparians, and made such a gap in the Dam, that all the Art and Industry of the Enemy could never repair again. And after that, the Tempest continuing brake down three gaps more, and drown'd four or five hundred Souldiers that were upon the Guard of the Dike; and carry'd away Collonel *Horstmans* Coach, with several Ladies in it.

A little before this the Prince of *Orange* had taken *Narden* from the *French*, which caus'd a great consternation at *Utrecht*. But that which troubl'd them more was, that the Prince began to bend his march toward *Germany*, where being reinforc'd by the Imperial Troops he had belieg'd the City of *Bon*, which he also took to-

gether with some other places ; which made the *French* at *Utrecht* afraid lest by making farther Conquest he should cut off all Commerce and Correspondence between them and the Enemy. And it appeared by the offer of Neutrality which they made in behalf of the City and Province of *Utrecht*, in what a pannick dread they were, though the proffer would not be accepted. They also offer the Bishop of *Munster* to change their Province with him for that of *Over-Yffel* ; nay they offered to give it him, provided he would joyn with the Forces which were in *Germany*, but he did not accept their kindness, whether the Bishop considered the turn of Affairs, or whither he had not time sufficient to Consult and Treat. However it were, the King of *France* was constrained to quit all the places which he had Conquer'd ; of which *Woerden* was the first ; and after that the City of *Utrecht*, though very much impoverish'd by the exactions of her new Masters.

Tis thought that the main reasons which induc'd the King of *France* to quit his new Conquests, were first the March of the Prince of *Orange* into *Germany*. 2. The Alliance between the Emperor, the King of *Spain* and the States General. 3. His despair of gaining any thing upon *Holland*, without which his other Conquests were but a burthen to him. 4. He consider'd that the King of *England* was ill satisfi'd with his proceedings, and fear'd lest he should make a Peace with the States General, as he did

in the year 74. 5. He was afraid lest the Bishops of *Munster* and *Cologne* should change their sides, finding such a turn of their good Fortune: which jealousy of his was not ill grounded, for they perceiving the King not to be so Victorious as he was, desir'd a reconciliation with the Emperor, to avoid a total ruin: Though because they stood upon too favourable Conditions, they were not listen'd to at that time; while the Subjects of the Elector were punish'd on both sides for the miscarriage of their Prince, For after they had been sufficiently tormented by the *French*, in thunder'd the *Hollanders*, taking from them their Cities, and putting the whole Diocels to pay Contribution. And it was but reason to think that the *Hollanders* would carry the War into their Territories, who had open'd their doors to let in *France* both into *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*. Soon after in the beginning of the year 1674. the Peace was concluded between the King of *Great Britain*, and the *States-General*, which was to them a great lightning of their burthen in regard they were freed from the charges of such a vast Navy.

All this while the Bishop had a longing desire to be Master of *Groningen*, not that he was in hopes to gain the place; but that he had a design to Plunder the Country, and to gratifie his murmuring Souldiers with a good Booty, which was all the Pay they received from him. To which purpose in *February* he Muster'd together

4000 Horse, and sent them toward the Province, but all the Gates were so fast bar'd, and so well guarded, that there was no good to be done.

On the other side his Excellency *Rabenhaupt* march'd with his *Frizons* through the City of *Coverden* toward the County of *Benthem*. At his first arrival he took the City of *Northorn*, wherein he left 16 Colours of Horse, and 6 of Foot. From whence he advanc'd toward *Nyenhuys*, but receiving intelligence by the way, that *Episcoparians* had again begirt the City of *Northorn*, and beat off the Out-Guards, his Excellency marcht back toward them, with seven Troops of Horse, and five Regiments of Foot, and set upon them the fifth of *April*, but they still Retreated, leaving behind them Sixty Slain and Fifty Prisoners, with the loss only of three men. Two days after *Rabenhaupt* took the Castle of *Nytenhuys* by force, and thereby opened his way into the Bishops own Territories.

Upon that the Bishop began to fear, lest he should be forsaken by the *French*, who had already quitted the Province of *Utrecht* and several other places in the other Provinces, and so the flame of the War would blaze out in his own Territories. For indeed the *Imperialists* had plunder'd several of his Towns; and the *Friselanders* had fairly begun on their side. Upon these considerations he began to forget the Alliance which he had made with *France*, from whence he had received such considerable sums, and for all that the King promis'd

promis'd him the utmost of his Assistance. And therefore by his Envoys at *Cologne*, he sought to be restored to the favour, and to be admitted into the Alliance of the Emperor; which at length he obtain'd, and a Peace was concluded between him, the Emperour, and the States General.

As for the Emperor he promis'd to submit to him, to renounce the Alliance with *France*, and to be regulated according to the Resolutions taken at *Regensburgh* for the defence of the Princes and Circles of the Empire.

The agreement made with the States General was to this effect. That there should be a perpetual Peace between them; That there should be a reciprocal Amnesty, and Act of Oblivion for all things past, since the Peace of *Cleves*, unless for such as were guilty of Treason; That the Bishop immediately after the Ratification, should restore all the Places, Towns, Cities and Villages, without any exception, which he had Conquer'd or taken from the States; and that he should restore to the Subjects of the States all their Lands, Signiories, and Houses which he had detain'd from them during the War. That the Peace of *Cleves* should be of full force and effect in all things not contrary to this present Treaty. That the Count of *Beutheim*, his servants, Vassals, and Subjects should also be compriz'd in the General Amnesty. That the Emperor and the King of *Spain* be desir'd to be Cautionaries for the observation of this Treaty.

The

The *French* in their Conquer'd Cities having intelligence of this Peace, durst not hazard themselves there any longer, though they extorted great sums of money from the Inhabitants before they departed, from *Woerden* 16000 *Livers*, *Bommel* 36000, *Utrecht* 45000, *Campen* 80000, *Thuel* 22000, *Zutphen* 70000 for Contribution, and 70000 to save their Fortifications, *Anberm* 14000 for the Governor, and 100000 for the King, *Nimwegen* 55000, and the Upper and Lower *Betume* the same sum. As for *Wesel*, *Ennversch* and *Rees*, the King of *France* had given them to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, so that he retain'd in his hands nothing of his Conquests from the States, but *Graef* and *Mastricht*, the first of which places was valiantly recover'd by the Prince of *Orange*, and the latter restor'd by the Peace.

At what time the *French* quitted their Conquests, the Elector of *Cologne* quitted also the City of *Deventer* after he had made an agreement for 42000 *Crowns*, for Contribution money. The *Munsterians* also in pursuance of the Treaty quitted the Cities of *Hasselt*, *Swarisluys*, and *Zwoll*, after they had committed several disorders in the Country.

This turn of the tide no way pleas'd the *Roman* Catholics. At *Utrecht* and in several other places, they were in hopes that the *French* would return; and that then they should be put into possession of the Government of the Province;

vince; nay they gave it out so in publick. They were so obstinate at *Otmarsum*, that they would not surrender their Churches to those of the Reformed Religion, which caus'd some disorders at first, though they were quickly appeas'd.

But though the Peace between the Emperor, the States General, and the Bishop of *Cologne*, were thus concluded; yet the Elector of *Cologne* did not so soon forsake the *French* Interest, being still incens'd by the Bishop of *Strasburgh*. However his Imperial Majesty had prescrib'd him a time to declare himself which was near expiration. One main obstacle was that he could not brook, that the Emperor should keep a Garrison in the City of *Bon*. He also demanded of the States, as the price of his Friendship, the County of *Meurs*, the City of *Rynbork*, and forty thousand Crowns toward the expences of the War. But the States would allow him none of his Pretensions, only they were willing he should put a Garrison into *Rynborck*, but that he should renounce all his claim to the County of *Meurs*. He had also demanded free exercise of the Catholick Religion in the Province of *Over-Iffel*, but the Emperors Embassadors, well knowing it would never be granted, declar'd to him that it was not a reasonable request. For that the States General never permitted the exercise of the Catholick Religion in any of their Territories. Thereupon seeing the Cloud coming, he quitted all his pretensions, and upon that

a Peace followed between the Emperor and him; as also betwixt him and States General; the chief Articles whereof were, That there should be a firm and lasting Peace; that after the Ratification of the Treaty, the Elector should restore to the States all the Places which he had taken from them during the War, in the same Condition as they were before they were taken, without any wast or spoil, or any demand of Contribution. That he should keep the sums already paid, but that he should release the the Hostages which he detain'd for the payment of such sums as were demanded. That all Lands and Signiories taken from the Subjects of the *United Provinces* shall be restored them. On the other side that the State should quit all their pretensions to the Town of *Rynbork* and the Fortifications thereof. The County of *Lingen* should be restor'd to the Prince of *Orange*.

Certainly the two Bishops never dreamt that the Face of Affairs would have alter'd after so strange a manner, and that they should be forc'd to beg for Peace from the States. More especially the Bishop of *Munster* was deceiv'd, who in the month of *July*, before sent to the City of *Embsen* to send their Deputies to him, to *Newfort*, there to consult about such things as tended to their repose and security. The Inhabitants of *Embsen* had set themselves in an exact Neutrality all the time of the War, however they send their Deputies to the place appointed, with

with his demands, *viz.* That the Citizens of *Embsen*, should dismiss the States Garrison, and receive into the Town for their security two thousand of the Bishops Souldiers. To which the Deputies making answer, that they could not consent to any such proposal, till they had acquainted their High and Mightinesses, How said the Bishops Commissioners, who are they? To which one of the Deputies from *Embsen* replying, That the States General were sufficiently known to all the world. Yes, the other made answer, They were so formerly, but now the world knows no such sort of men. Upon which reply the Deputies from *Embsen* took their leaves; and gave their Magistracy an accompt of what had pass'd. But they had no such low and contemptible thoughts of the States as the Bishop had, and therefore gave him an absolute denial to his demand.

In the mean while the King of *France* was greatly offended at the two Bishops, because they had made a Peace with the Emperor and the States. *Munster* excus'd himself by his Agent, that he had been constrain'd to make a Peace with the States, because that the next Spring, he should have otherwise been assail'd not only by the *Imperialists*, but also by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and Duke of *Lunenburgh*. But the King was not at all satisfied with this excuse, and that so much the less, because he had taken the other side, and sent all his men to the Emperor

peror, who being arriv'd in the parts about *Cologn*, began to mutiny, being thereto incited by the *French* that were among them, who persuaded them that if they would serve the King of *France* he would allow them thirty Crowns a man. So that many of the Regiment of Colonel *Nagel* kill'd their Officers, and deserted their Colours. But this Muriny was soon appeas'd by hanging some of the principal King-leaders, and paying off the rest of the Souldiers. As for the Bishop he had promis'd the Emperor by a Collateral agreement, to supply him the next Spring, in the year 1675. with a body of ten thousand men; but he found it a difficult task to be as good as his word, in regard that the six thousand that had winter'd in *Alsatia* were reduc'd to two thousand Horse and three hundred Foot.

Thus the King of *France* lost two Friends but in the lieu of them, the King of *Sueden* instead of being a Mediator, shew'd himself an Enemy to the Allies, and though to his disadvantage, had in a Hostile manner assail'd the Territories of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. Thereupon the States General assisted the said Elector, being thereto oblig'd by their reciprocal Alliance, and their own Interest. Which caus'd the King of *Sueden* in *February*, 1675. to send an Ambassador to the Bishop of *Munster*, to desire him not to give passage to the Forces which the States should send through his Territories to *Bremen*.

men. In which Affairs the Bishop carry'd himself fairly enough, for he made use of no flims or delays either on the one side or the other, but gave this plain answer, that he should be sorry there should be any War between the Crown of *Sueden* and the States General or their Allies, but if any such thing should happen, that he was bound to obey the Orders of his *Imperial* Majesty.

And the more to approve himself the Emperors servant, in *June* the same year, he told the *Sieur Fischer* the Emperors Embassador who gave him a vilit at *Coesvelt*, that *M. Verjus* the King of *Frances* Embassador had earnestly solicited him with promise of great matters to take his part, or at least to observe an exact Neutrality; but that he was resolv'd not to lend an Ear to his Enchantments. Some applauded him highly for it, and look'd upon his refusal, as a sign of his Fidelity to the Empire, and believ'd he would mend in his Old Age. Though others were of opinion, that if his words were true, he spake them not so much from the reality of his Intentions, as out of fear of being utterly ruin'd; for otherwise, said they, he would never have refus'd the Gold of *France*, which he lov'd so dearly: for the mony design'd him was afterwards expended in *Italy*, *Portugal* and *Switzerland* for the raising of new men.

More than that in pursuit of his Alliance with the Emperor, he rais'd a body of eight thousand men in the Counties of *Rheeda* and *Rhinberg*, with an intention to march with this little Army towards *Bremen*, and to have done the *Swedes* what mischief he could. But in the interim he receiv'd Orders from his Imperial Majesty to march toward the County of *Lippe*, immediately he obey'd, carrying along with him several great Guns, and put a Garrison into the City of *Blomberg*. He also belieg'd *Lemgou*, for refusing him entrance, and took it without any great trouble together with *Waerensbolts*; and when he had so done, he made the County pay him a Contribution of twelve thousand Crowns. He also did his utmost to draw the Duke of *Hanover* to his party, and to persuade him to quit the *French* and *Swedes*, so that now he shew'd himself as passionate an Enemy, as before he appeared a zealous Friend to the King of *France*.

His Enmity to the *Swede* proceeded from his unhandsome proceedings, in that he had publickly taken part with the *French*, contrary to his promises of Assistance, to which he was obliged by the Triple Alliance and other Treaties, and contrary to the trust reposed in him, as having receiv'd several sums of money to raise an Auxiliary Force. For these reasons he possess'd himself of the Territory of *Wildeshausen* appertaining to the Jurisdiction of *Bremen*; he expell'd

pell'd the *Suedes* out of the Cities of *Telgenbuisen* and *Verden*, and being assisted by the Forces of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, he made himself Master of *Otterbergh* and *Buxtehude*.

In the midst of these Transactions he had also made another Alliance with the Crown of *Spain*, and the States General; wherein he had promis'd to supply them with three thousand men for a certain sum of money, but that these Levies should remain with the rest of the *Munster-Troops* to act with the *Imperialists* against the *French*; or where absolute necessity should require their assistance. Or if the States desir'd more men, the Bishop oblig'd himself to furnish them with eight Thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, provided that they pay'd them in the same manner as they payd the three thousand already rais'd. This Treaty was to last ten years after the expiration of the present War. And in case that either of the three Confederates were invaded, that the other two should assist him that was first assail'd. That is to say, that the King of *Spain* and the States should assist the Bishop with two thousand Horse, and four thousand Foot; and that the Bishop should assist them with five hundred Foot, and a thousand Horse.

But in regard that all which the Bishop acted afterwards was in common with the rest of the Allies, we shall forbear to speak of these things, which should we undertake, we should be forc'd to make an entire History of the Wars in Ger-

many, Brandenburg and Denmark, which would far exceed the purpose of this short Relation.

Thus then we have given an accompt of the Birth of this Bishop, or at least we have said as much as we could possibly learn concerning it. We have also given the Reader an account of his Manners, his Humour and his Disposition, all which have appear'd sufficiently by his Actions. We have also made a Relation of the Contentions and Dissentions by which he was advanc'd to his Dignity; as also of the effects of his Martial and quarrellsome humour, which display'd it self first against his own Subjects, then against several Members of the Empire, and soon after against the States General. We have shew'd the troubles and quarrels that arose in the Election of his Coadjutor and successor. And lastly how he sold himself to several Princes to satisfy his Avarice and Hatred, and how he deserted them upon the change of their Fortune.

Most certainly he impoverish'd and ruin'd his Subjects by his continual Wars, which were still voluntarily undertaken, and the occasions sought by himself; in the maintaining of which he did more than ordinary mischief and damage to his Neighbours. More especially he was the particular plague of *Munster, Drenthe, and Twente, of Groneng, and Over-Yssel.*

Upon all these Transactions of his Dignify'd Life, some have made these observations:

1. That

1. That the Bishop made so little advantage by all his Wars, unless perhaps that he might hoard up some considerable Sums of ready money, that he made no addition to his Territories, and by that at his latter end he won some few places from the *Swedes* in the Territories of *Bremen*, and *Verdon*; which advantages, lost again soon after his death, could in no measure recompence for the ruin of his own Subjects and Diocess, of which he himself was the only occasion, nor be compar'd to the loss of so many thousands of men slain, murder'd plunder'd and undone by his means. 2. That though he were a Prince of small Power, and the Master of but a slender Dominion, yet that still he so order'd his affairs, as to oblige Potent Kings to take his part, and with immense Sums to purchase his Friendship: but that so happen'd, by reason of the situation of his Country, so commodiously seated among his Neighbours. 3. That having so many and such Potent Adversaries, and having so often ran such perillous hazards, he has still warded off the fatal blow by his dextrous and seasonable Change of Parties. 4. That he should always have Souldiers at his service, and several Volunteers, though he paid them so ill, and many times gave them nothing at all. But the reason of that was plain, in regard he gave them an uncontroll'd Liberty to commit all manner of Enormities, Rapines, and Spoils, even upon his very Allies, not excusing his own

Subjects from the same Oppression. 5. That though he liv'd in perpetual trouble, and spent his days in the continual Toyls of War, yet that he should arrive at so fair an Age, never molested with Diseases, but still retaining an admirable vigour both of body and mind.

To tell the Causes of his restless Activity will be easie; when we consider, 1. His unquiet and turbulent disposition, that would never suffer him to be in Repose, and which was also heightened and inflamed by the instigations of others. 2. The hatred and rancour which he bore the States General, arising from some imaginary Wrong, or rather from his Religion, as being so embitter'd against those of the Protestant Religion, that he could have kill'd them all with his own hands. 3. His Ambition and Desire of rendring himself renowned by his Wars. 4. His Avarice and Greediness to heap up great sums of ready money for himself and his Heirs. 5. His vain expectations of being made Pope, in consideration of his Wars against the Hereticks, and his Zeal for the Catholick Religion.

For he was wont to say, *He is not worthy to be great, who makes it not his Endeavour to grow greater; wherein if the success do not answer the design, however he shall gain the Reputation of having done great things. His resolutions are in his own power, but the success is in the hands of Fortune, which willingly assists the courageous.*

As this was one of his chief Apophthegms, I find but few more that were thought worthy the Record either of History or Tradition.

Being advis'd by one of his intimate friends not to undertake the first War against *Holland*, who told him that he would in the end prove too weak for them, that had so long withstood, and done so much mischief to the King of *Spain* for fourscore years together. He made answer, *Come, Come, Little Saints sometimes work great Miracles.*

In like manner, when a little after his being advanced to his dignity, He was Counsell'd to deal gently with the City of *Munster*. No Prince, said he, can be called powerful whose Power does not extend it self over his Subjects.

Being told, the first time that he made Peace with the States, That he had lost more than he had got by the War, Princes, said he, *that go to War, are like Gamesters at Trick Track; for the Dice will not always run as they would have them.*

It is reported also that one time he said to one of his Generals, *A little pretence of Right will justifie a whole War.*

But as our Bishop had his Vices, certainly he was not without some Eminent Vertues, though I must confess I never yet could be informed what they were, and must therefore be forced to bury them in silence.

At length the Fatal hour came, which gave him to understand, that the Greatest Princes are but vanity it self, and no more than the meanest among men.

He lamented very cordially that he had so much overburthened his Subjects, and that his Government had been so cruel toward them; but he pleaded, That it was out of necessity, and to resist his Enemies.

He was very much troubled about his debts; and a little before he expir'd he order'd his Executors, among whom was the Sub-Dean and Doctor *Ham*, to take particular care to see them paid, telling them withal, that though he knew he ow'd much, yet he was very well satisfi'd that there was sufficient to discharge them all; which he left to their Consciences, as knowing where his money lay.

He order'd the sum of twenty thousand Crowns for the expences of his Funeral. He caus'd four Silver Candlesticks to be made of the value of two thousand Crowns apiece, to stand upon the Altar of the Chappel where he was interred; for the Wax-Candles that were to be kept perpetually burning. He also appointed the fourth of *November* to be the day of his Funeral, and that the same day a Chapter should be call'd to introduce the new Bishop. He also caus'd a Silver Ship to be made, in memory of a *French Ship* that he had taken upon the Coast of *Friesland*; though others say 'twas only a small Barque

Barque made Use of for the Unlading of Greater Vessels.

So soon as the breath was out of his body every one seiz'd upon what they could snatch; carrying away, not only his mony, but also all the gold and silver Moveables in his Chamber; nay they stript him of the meanest things that were in the Chamber, leaving him alone as it were in a ranfact Room.

He had Govern'd the Diocess twenty eight years, though the accompt of his Age is variously reported, some allowing him seventy one, others seventy two years. In the year 1667. at the Election of his Successor, he acknowledg'd himself in the fixtieth year of his Age. from which time to his death we reckon full eleven years; which is the truest accompt we can give of his Age.

The present Bishop his Successor, soon after his Death, publish'd a Pious Exhortation to all his Subjects, to betake themselves to their Devotions and Prayers for the Soul of the decas'd, in these words,

Ferdinand by the Grace of God and the Apostolick See, Bishop of Munster and Paderborn, Vicount of Strombergh, Prince of the Empire, Count of Pyemont and Borkelo, &c.

To the Venerable Clergy and well beloved People of the City and Bishoprick of *Munster*, perpetual Greeting in our Lord.

IT hath pleased him who takes away the Souls of Princes when he pleases, to call from this life to a better, our dear Brother, Cousin and Predecessor, the *Sieur* Christopher Bernard, Bishop of Munster, Administratour of Corvey, Lord of Borkelo, after he had Govern'd the Diocess of Munster to his immortal praise, with a care truly Paternal. And though we make no doubt, but that his Subjects, who in his life time lov'd him as a Father, and reverenc'd him as their Prince, will not be wanting in their Christian Duties and Prayers which they owe to the Deceas'd: Nevertheless we have thought fit to admonish and ordain with the advice of our Reverend Chapter, That all Priests, as well Secular as Regular, depending upon the Diocess of Munster, in the dayly Oblation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and others in their dayly

daily Prayers, do, with all humility recommend the Soul of this great Prince to the abound Mercy of our Lord, to the end he may obtain Eternal Salvation among the Blessed Souls to whom he had made himself known upon Earth by his Vertues and Heroic Acts.

And whereas it has pleas'd the Omnipotent to lay the burthen of the Succession upon our shoulders, after a lawful Election approv'd by the Apostolick and Imperial Authority: We knowing the importance thereof, and deeply sensible of the present Troubles and Evils that threaten us on every side: earnestly desire the Prayers and Charity of our devout Subjects, that our weakness, being supported by the Power of God, may be able to support the Charge committed to Us, through the Merits and Common Prayers of our people, &c.

Ferdinand, L.

LS. Vr.

Alpen. Vic. Gen.

Thus we have seen the death of the so much renowned Bishop of *Munster* the *Sieur Christopher Bernard*; full of years, yet enjoying the vigour of his senses to the last gasp. And as it was his chance to be advanc'd just after the Peace made with the Emperor, *France, Spain, Sweden*
land

land and the United Provinces; so he also happen'd to dye presently after the Peace made between *France, Spain, and the States General.*

His death restor'd both Quiet and Repose to all his Neighbours, who were still afraid that so soon as the Emperor and *France* should be agreed, he would be cutting out new Employment for himself; for he never fail'd of a pretence. But Providence has better provided for them. For they may now assure themselves of security, under the Government of his Successor the present Bishop, and his Subjects may hope for an Age of Silver after that of Iron, as now pass'd off with the precedeing Bishop. For it is affirmed that he is a Prince mild and pacifick, an Enemy to all sorts of trouble, and one that abominates the Desolations of War; and besides all this, a lover of Learning and Learned men: and it is Generally observ'd that those Provinces are usually most happy, whose Princes prefer Learning before War, and Books before Armies.

True it is that upon his Election to be Coadjutor and Successor, several Quarrels and Contentions arose between the Bishop deceas'd and a good part of the *Members* of the Chapter; but we are assur'd that the present Bishop had never any hand in those Disputes, nor ever afforded the least Fuel to foment them. Neither was it a thing ever sought by him or desir'd of *Christopher Bernard*, who carry'd on his Design

sign altogether without his knowledg. So that those disorders are no way to be imputed to the present Bishop.

An Authentick Letter touching the
Birth of *Christopher Bernard* Bishop of
Munster.

Sir,

BEcause there are various Reports concerning the affair, of the truth whereof you desire me to inform you; I thought my self oblig'd to give you the best satisfaction I could: In order to which I have discoursed the most Ancient and most knowing persons in these parts, who all agree that the Bishop of Munster was conceiv'd in Prison at Bevergeerde, but that he was born in his Fathers Castle of Bispink. For it happen'd that the Father of the Bishop, whose name was Gaten Bispink, had had several Quarrels with Marshal Morien, Lord of Noorkirk his Neighbour, about the priviledg of Hunting. Which continuing, one time among the rest, the Marshal seiz'd Gatens Huntsmen and Dogs, and shut them up so long, till they eat one another for want of food. Soon after they both came to Munster, where Gaten meeting the Marshal, ask'd him when he would send him his Huntsmen and his Dogs home? To which Morien reply'd,

reply'd, very suddenly; and withal told Gaten that he had certain Papers about him that concerned the business; but instead of shewing the Papers, threw off his Cloak, and drew his Sword. Gaten, though he had been Drinking hard, drew his Sword half out, and parly'd a while, till necessity constrain'd him, and that his Servants call to him to have a care of himself: at what time he drew his Sword quite out and slew his Assailant. The Fact being thus Committed, Gaten never absented himself, and was therefore Imprison'd in the Castle of Bevergeerde; and when his Judges allowed him to choose an Advocate, he refused to do it, but pleaded his own Cause, and carry'd his business so well, that at length his Wife was permitted to come and live with him; and so it came to pass that our Bishop was Begot and Conceived in Prison. True it is that his Father was at length acquitted, but he had vow'd not to stir out of Prison till his Prosecutors had paid him all the Costs of his Imprisonment and his Suit, which had lasted thirteen years; so that his Wife being near her time, return'd to Bispinck, where she lay in. After the Father was dead, the Son was made a Canon of Munster; and being much inclin'd to War, and well versed in Military Affairs, he was made first Commissary at War; and at length, after the death of the last Bishop, advanced to the Episcopal Dignity.

Another

Another Letter to the same Effect.

Sir,

After I had Read your Letter, I made all the Enquiry I could to satisfie your Curiosity; but because there are few alive that were living at that time, there is very little of truth and reality to be reported. Certain it is, that the said Bishop was begot in Prison, to which his Father was Committed for Murther. But Opinions are various touching the Right of the Occasion, whether it were on his side or no. The Favourers of the deceased Bishop will have his Father to be innocent, though others believe that no man durst say otherwise while he lived, and that length of time has caused it to be granted for truth.

Most certain it is that there were desperate Quarrels between the Bishops Father (who was call'd *Gaten Bispink*, from his Castle of *Bispink*) and the Marshal *Morien* about their priviledges of Hunting, whereby the former very much prejudic'd the latter, who because the other would take no warning, seiz'd his Dogs, and shut them up so long till they were starv'd to death. A while after they met at Munster; and *Gaten* being in drink, asked *Morien* for his Dogs in very sharp and abusive terms, threatening the
 Marshal

Marshal wiubal. B. Morien being a person of Courage, and not able to brook such Language; laid his hand upon his Sword and told Gaten that he was ready to answer him with his Sword in his hand. Some say that Gaten declin'd the Combat, and that he was at length compell'd to fight in his own defence; others affirm that he immediately drew and fell on. However it were, the Marshal was slain, and Gaten Imprisoned at Bevergeerde, where he dy'd in some few years after. It is reported that his Judges had given him leave to go home, after they had examin'd the Fact: but he refus'd to stir till the Kindred of the person slain should pay him all the Charges of his Imprisonment; Though others believe that to be very improbable, and an Invention only to free him from Scandal and Ignominy of a tedious fourteen years Thraldom. After Gaten had been some time in Prison, his wife was allow'd to go and live with him; and thus it happened that the Bishop was begot and conceiv'd in Prison; though his Mother lay in at her Castle of Bispink. Thus in Generals all agree; though there may be some uncertainty in the Circumstances which aggravate or mitigate the Offence, of which people take the Liberty to jud: according to their affections for the Bishop. Which is not to be wonder'd at in a Fact committed so long since; in regard we our selves have frequent experience, that Murders are by some bigbly defended and pleaded for, by others

the late Bishop of Munster. 175

*as much exclaim'd against and condemn'd, which
proceeds from the various judgments that affection
or hatred makes upon the Causes and Cir-
cumstances of the Crime.*

T H E E N D .
